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ELEMENTS
OF
GENERAL HISTORY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
OF THE
ABBÉ MILLOT.

PART SECOND.
MODE IN HISTORY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

LONDON:
Printed for W. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL, in the Strand.
MDCCLXXIX.

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ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL HISTORY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
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a sequel to the *ANCIEN*, has yet form a

complete work, and is a valuable

MUSEUM

BRITANNICUM

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than a heap of dry unconnected facts, bodded

for a purpose of having much information
of the mind, and of the progress of the

MUSEUM

BRITANNICUM

It is perhaps to be regretted that
clear work of the kind, and of the
elegant simplicity and *raison d'être*
which is the only and proper basis of

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THE following volumes of Millot's General History, though designed as a sequel to the Ancient part, yet form a complete work by themselves; the more valuable, as nothing has hitherto appeared in any language on this subject that deserves the name of an History; except Puffendorf's Introduction, which being almost only a heap of dry unconnected facts, huddled together without order or taste, is therefore incapable of leaving much impression on the mind of the reader but that of disgust; and the Modern Universal History, which, though a work of established reputation, is too bulky and expensive for the generality of readers.

It is perhaps to the want of a concise clear work of this kind, composed with elegant impartiality and precision, that we

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are in a great measure to ascribe the neglect, or rather disrepute into which the study of Modern History has fallen in our schools and even universities; though it be a subject equally curious, and much more interesting than the Ancient, and the ill consequences attending the neglect of this branch of knowledge but too visible. In fact, it appears an absurdity, that a young man, when he enters into the world, should be acquainted with the most trifling incidents in Greece, Italy, or Persia, three thousand years ago, and entirely ignorant of the most important revolutions that have happened in his own country, or its neighbourhood, in less than so many centuries; that he should be perfectly skilled in the laws and constitutions of Athens, Sparta, and ancient Rome, without the least knowledge of those under which he is born, which he is obliged to obey, and which it is his duty to observe.

I would not, from what is here said, be understood to depreciate the study of Ancient History.—We find in it the most masterly pictures of human nature, the noblest

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blest examples of heroic virtue and disinterested patriotism; and, if I may use the expression, a series of miracles performed by an intrepidity and wisdom that seem almost beyond the reach of mankind.—But perhaps few converts to virtue have been made by that study; and it is to be feared, that the lessons it gives are not of so much utility as is pretended. Men are generally most affected by the practices and principles of their cotemporaries, the transactions of remote nations in a distant age, make almost as little impression as if they had happened in another world; and, though they may attract admiration and applause, seldom rouse us to imitation. Indeed it would have been well for the world, had that study produced the fruits which might naturally be expected from it; but in this instance, as in many others, experience refutes theory however specious.

The study of Modern History, therefore, even as a school of morality, will, perhaps, not be found inferior to that of the Ancient. If it furnishes fewer brilliant examples, yet the great and good actions it displays, must

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sink deeper into the mind, and be more productive of emulation, as being performed by men of characters and manners nearly resembling our own. We either feel, or are witnesses of the beneficial effects they have produced, as well as the ill-consequences attendant on the contrary vices; and therefore must be led by the most powerful of all motives, a regard for our own welfare, to embrace the one and fly from the other.—But this subject would lead me beyond the limits of an advertisement; and it is not my design to write a preface.

The Abbé, though born and educated under one absolute prince, employed and rewarded by another, every where shews himself a foe to tyranny, and a warm asserter of the rights and liberties of mankind. His good sense, candour, and impartiality, oblige him to acknowledge the abuses and errors that have been propagated in the Christian world by the domineering and interested spirit of the church of Rome; and the picture he has given of the cruelties she has committed, or been the

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cause

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cause of committing; of the tyranny she has exercised over the bodies, as well as the consciences of men, with the beneficial effects produced by the Reformation, must make every reader sensible of the blessing we enjoy in being freed from her yoke; especially when we reflect, that though she now appears less sanguinary and despotic, yet her moderation proceeds only from her want of power; and that the care she takes to keep up her pretensions, indicates a fixed resolution to enforce them, if ever circumstances take a favourable turn.

His merit as an historian is too well known to be mentioned; that of the translation is submitted to the candor of the reader, who it is hoped will find entertainment in these volumes, as he certainly will instruction.

PREFACE

HAVING laid down the plan of this work in the Preface and Introduction to the Ancient History, what is here necessary to be added will peculiarly respect the Modern; a subject much more difficult to be treated in a general point of view. Though my intention is not intended for children, whose age renders them incapable of pursuing a regular train of reflections; but for youth, who are already acquainted with the first elements of literature; and men of business, who are desirous either of acquiring an idea of the principal historical events, or of refreshing their memories, without engaging in too tedious a course of study. Yet I have not totally neglected readers even of the tenderest age: the passages best suited to their capacity or taste may be selected, the difficulties cleared up, and the few preliminary instructions necessary, be readily supplied.

in

P R E F A C E.

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In

P R E F A C E.

In elementary treatises of the speculative sciences, every thing is to be defined and demonstrated; all the ideas must spring immediately from one another; the principles and consequences be linked together with the utmost precision and clearness; and, even then, minds which have received but an ordinary degree of cultivation, seldom acquire them without assistance. But this method is incompatible with history, particularly general history; which consists of an infinite number of facts, for the most part unconnected, scattered in confusion through the bottomless abyss of ages, and the boundless extent of the universe, more or less interesting to us according to our various tastes or personal connections; in a word, such, that every nation (not to say every district) produces an enormous multitude of volumes, filled only with accounts of its own transactions. How difficult must be the task to select from this chaos, to arrange with method, precision, clearness, exactness, and elegance, the materials proper to give the reader a knowledge

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ledge of what is really essential, and render the study pleasing, instead of laborious!

If I have made any approaches to this point of perfection, it is the utmost I could hope from this long labour; the inaccuracies of which will perhaps hereafter be lessened. The title of *Elements* cannot here be taken in the strict sense which it commonly bears in works of a different species; but I have preferred it as most expressive of the object I had in view, though without subjecting myself to a constraint superfluously scrupulous. Above all things brevity appeared to me essentially necessary; and it is often sufficient barely to point out the facts, in order to form the connection of ideas. In a word, my plan was neither to give a dry chronological table, stuffed with names and dates, nor an insipid compilation of trivial uninteresting facts; but to sketch the great picture of human events; descending only to such particulars as were absolutely necessary to fix the attention on the points most to be remembered. The reader has here the
feels

P R E F A C E.

seeds of that information, which he will find fully displayed in particular histories.

In a work of this nature it is no easy task to give a good narrative; but to arrange it is still more difficult. The most proper method, as far as I can judge, is that which, while it excites curiosity, best assists the memory. But in whatever manner we proceed, the principal point is to bring objects of similar kind as near to each other as possible, to mark the concatenation of causes and effects, to observe the springs of the different revolutions, to conform to the progress of the human understanding, and distribute our materials within certain limits, in order to place them in the most distinct view. The epochas, commonly used, appear to me very defective; and notwithstanding the pains I have taken to improve that method, I cannot flatter myself with having brought it to the perfection at which I aimed.

To make history a subject of reasoning, to draw from it just ideas and practical consequences on the interests of society, is unquestionably the most essential point in a

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course of instruction, where it is endeavoured to unite reason with sentiment. When such is the design, every object ought to lead to reflections or maxims, to enlighten the understanding, or to form the heart.

Had virtue generally prevailed among mankind, it would become natural to the species, and be practised almost without pains or study. But, on the contrary, so great is human weakness, that General History continually presents us with a picture of follies and disorders, and conveys her instructions much more frequently by pointing out the mistakes and misfortunes of our ancestors, than by examples worthy of applause.

Accordingly, the faults of the ancient governments are become one of the most useful lessons of politics, and the errors of the ancient clergy one of the best schools of discipline and morality.

For this reason I shall not conceal any excesses productive of pernicious effects; not even those that have drawn so severe reproaches upon the pontificate, the priesthood,

hood, and the religious orders. It is my duty to shew, that in ages of superstition and ignorance these have been a great source of the calamities which have afflicted mankind. Do not the sacred writings paint similar disorders in the most lively colours? Doth not the divine law condemn even the imperfections of its ministers? One of the triumphs of the church is, that it has subsisted notwithstanding the offensive conduct of its members. In vain doth the infidel shamelessly impute them to religion; to the Christian they furnish an additional motive for adoring the dispensations of providence.

Besides, every impartial man will own, that if great evils have been frequently produced by the abuse of the holy ministry, the greatest advantages have flowed from its daily use. The ill effects of the one are conspicuous, and unhappily make a great figure in history; the good effects of the other are unnoticed; because they are perpetual and uniform, and follow the ordinary course of society.

After all, this evil sprung rather from error than from vicious passions, and may
in

in some degree even turn to the honour of the ministers of the altar; because some confess it with candour, others avoid it with care; and the greatest part being better acquainted with the duties of civil society and Christianity, shew themselves more worthy of confidence or public esteem.

To attain perfection in this world is a pleasing, but chimerical idea; yet every government ought to improve, and will do so by a cool examination of former faults. In offices of every kind, ecclesiastical, political, and civil, the mistakes of another serve as lessons for the proper regulation of our own conduct.

They who in this respect change, or affect to disguise historical facts, will always be suspected of a haughty and interested spirit; which is the more preposterous, as truth has long been piercing the clouds, and nothing contributes more to her splendour than the imprudent methods used to cover her with obscurity. Being essentially the friend of religion, law, and good order, her sole tendency is to inspire a love of virtue and our duty; nor can she, without depra-

depraving her nature, be brought to favour the cause of licentiousness. Whatever writer departs from the fundamental principles of reverence for Christianity, and love for his country, is either blind, or a liar; and history will bear testimony against him.

May it in every country form pastors worthy of being quoted as models; magistrates, through whom justice really utters her decrees; warriors who will generously defend the state; subjects faithful to their prince, and zealous for their country; princes attentive to deserve the loyalty and affection of their subjects; writers capable of instructing the nations; in a word, men in every station of private life happy by their discretion, and useful to society by their labours!

Should this weak attempt inspire any of our youth with a love of truth and virtue, it will be crowned with success. If it give any individual a just cause for complaint, nothing will have been more repugnant to my intentions. Satire would fill me with remorse, adulation with shame.

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ELEMENTS

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GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE UNITED STATES

AND THE

INDIAN TRIBES

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I

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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

*On the Establishment of the Barbarians in
the Roman Empire.*

AMONG the many bloody revolutions which have changed the appearance of the world, none more deserves the attention of the politician, and even of the philosopher, than that by which the Roman empire was overturned, and the monarchies of Europe erected on its ruins. The glory, greatness, strength, and learning, of that famous empire, were suddenly extinguished; the work of ages, the labour of so many heroes and immortal geniuses, was destroyed by barbarians, till then unknown or despised, who triumphed over Rome, and seizing her provinces, formed them into independent states, where they established

The ruin of
the empire
a large field
for reflex-
ions.

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B

their

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

their own laws and prejudices, together with their power. The causes and effects of so memorable an event, would furnish matter for several volumes, but I shall sketch them out in one view, confining myself to a few useful reflexions, limiting my historical inquiries to what will enlighten the reason and inspire the principles of virtue.

This revolution accounted for from moral causes.

The Roman name strikes with such veneration, that we almost weep over the ruins of their empire, and are tempted to look with abhorrence upon its destroyers, as monsters equally worthless and detestable. But ought that giant, which crushed the nations and devoured their remains, to be more the object of our attention than our own progenitors. Are Arcadius and Honorius, with the heirs of their cowardice and stupid imprudence, more respectable than Alaric, Ataulfus, Clovis, Odoacer, Theodoric, Totila, Alboinus, Autharic, &c.? Was the government of the emperors preferable to that of the new monarchs? And ought we not to look upon the victories and permanent establishment of the barbarians as the natural effect of moral causes, by whose influence, sooner or later, empires rise and fall. This point will be decided by having recourse to history.

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history. Let us turn back a moment, and recal some important ideas which are scattered in the first part of this work, and which contain the seeds of those instructive lessons we are in the sequel to display at full length.

Rome owed her greatness no less to her manners than to her politics and arms. Elevation of soul, love of liberty and patriotism, a passion for glory, invincible patience under fatigue, contempt of dangers and of death, obedience to the laws, and above all, military discipline had extended and secured her conquests. Even her acts of injustice were clothed with a brilliant garb of majesty, and the *kingly people* made their tyranny respectable.

How the
Romans
gained their
empire.

At Rome, riches produced the same effects as in every other country: the manners were corrupted by luxury, the votes of the multitude were purchased in order to gratify the ambition of the great; liberty was extinguished in the blood of the citizens, the rage of civil war was appeased only by the establishment of a sovereign; interest formed courtiers, and force made slaves; the legions became instruments of despotism, and assumed a right to dispose of the imperial dignity; the prætorian guards always sold themselves to the best bidder,

By what
means, and
how far they
were cor-
rupted.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

and treated with equal contempt the lives of princes and the laws of the republic; in one word, the most monstrous crimes, the most shameful abuses, were committed under the form of the ancient government. A senate debased, magistrates without authority or honour, troops without restraint, a people without spirit, oppressed and insolent, gave themselves up to all kinds of disorder, while the throne was ordinarily the seat of debauchery, villany, and almost every vice.

Some great Emperors administered only temporary remedies to the evil.

A few great men who rose to supreme power, gave a picture of the ancient virtues. Rome seemed to revive but like a patient snatched from the brink of the grave, without extirpating the seeds of death united with his frame; the sources of corruption again opened, and her relapse was dreadful.

Dreadful licentiousness of the army.

The armies which created Emperors in order to extort from them immense largesses, and afterwards massacred them to extort equal sums from their successors, rose to that pitch of licentiousness, where the name of discipline is a signal for revolt. They were no longer the soldiers but the oppressors of the country; they were no more citizens armed for the common defence, they were banditti freed from every restraint,

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

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restraint, and insatiable of prey. Besides, there were enrolled among them, numbers of those barbarians whose countrymen and brethren poured into the Roman provinces; and the enemies found, even in the legions, men eager to receive them.

While a dangerous military force guarded or ruined the frontiers, the people in the capitals, at a distance from, and unacquainted with war, were almost equally strangers to industry, which is so indispensably necessary for the preservation of morals. Indigent and idle they lived upon the distributions and largesses which from a wretched policy had been established in order to gain their favour. They required bread and shows, not as a recompence or relaxation of their labours, but rather as the product and food of their vices; ready to revolt when the necessities of the state prevented the payments of that tribute. Italy, which was converted into a garden, from an imitation of Asiatic pomp, refused nourishment to its inhabitants. If by misfortune, as was frequently the case in the midst of disturbances and civil wars, the fleets from Africa and Sicily miscarried, the people breathed only sedition: If an enemy appeared at the gates of the city, they were incapable of obedience or resistance.

Vice and
wretched-
ness of the
people.

sistance. Rome was no longer inhabited by Romans.

Deplorable
state of the
west after
the building
of Constan-
tinople.

When Constantine built his new capital, and from ill-judged pride, drew to it almost all the riches of his empire, the west was exhausted and fell into a kind of torpor. However, we are assured, that when Rome was taken by Alaric, the yearly income of several families amounted to upwards of 200,000 *l.* and those of the second rank were worth at least 50,000 *l. per annum.* If we even make a considerable abatement from this calculation, it is an evident proof that the property of the nation was swallowed up by a few individuals; that crimes were incessantly multiplied, wretchedness increased by the influence of abominable luxury, and that the provinces were a prey to courtiers, magistrates, and tax-gatherers.

Public rob-
beries.

In fact, history presents us only with a picture of extortions and robberies. The famous impost of χρυσάργυρον levied upon things the least proper for taxation, even in some degree on beggary itself, was a reproach to the memory of Constantine. A check seemed to be given to injustice by several laws, particular those by Arcadius and Honorius, though they were princes utterly destitute of abilities: But laws were now an empty name. Never was injustice
more

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more open, or less punished. The ministers, the women, the eunuchs, the lacqueys of the court, sacrificed every thing to their passions, under the sacred name of the imperial power: a name which was now only used for the purposes of tyranny.

Let us reflect only on two facts which cannot be controverted. In fifty years after the death of Alexander Severus, more than fifty Cæsars or Emperors were proclaimed and massacred by the soldiers, who were as prone to rebellion and murder, as regardless of honour and the public good. On the other hand, infamous treachery became one of the principal resources of government. Assassins were let loose against those princes whose arms were dreaded: they were even drawn into the snare by the shew of friendship, and the rites of hospitality were stained with murder; hospitality anciently so sacred among the Romans! Hospitality which the barbarians practised with such generous frankness! The reign of Valens furnishes two instances of kings thus murdered when they rose from table. A strange method of putting a stop to the enterprises of those conquering nations, while the Emperors were not ashamed to pay them tribute, and

Continual
revolutions.

Treachery
used against
the barbari-
ans.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

purchase peace at the very time they were provoking them to war.

Virtue and
honour ex-
tinct.

Need we then be surpris'd, that virtue and honour, being no more to be found at court, in the army, or in office, an unhappy and debas'd people resembled their ancestors in nothing but in name; which being rendered common to all the subjects of the empire, did not awake, in a single breast, the sentiments of ancient Rome; that minds formerly so ardent for the public interest, were now cold to every thing but the factions of charioteers, and theological quarrels; in a word; that religious feuds extinguish'd the last embers of patriotism, and became one of the principal causes of the approaching ruin.

Religious
feuds subse-
quent to the
establish-
ment of
Christia-
nity.

Christianity had happily ascended the throne; the natural tendency of which was, to make truth dispel error, virtue triumph over the passions, and universal charity unite all men in God, whose infinite goodness and mercy were set before them as models of imitation. But this religion did not render them impeccable; while they forsook its precepts, they might use it as a pretext for the most destructive excesses. If Christians, after having signalized their faith under the sword of persecution, became

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came persecutors in their turn, the body politic would be torn in pieces, and breaches opened on every side, through which foreign enemies might make their way into the heart of the empire; consequences which experience soon verified.

Though Constantine had a strong inclination to despotism, he did not attempt to force the consciences of idolaters. How was it possible that he should imagine the Romans would bend their knee to the cross, unless, from conviction, they adored its mystery in their hearts? It was no small advantage, that altars were raised to the true God, and the Gospel was preached in the Capitol. This system of moderation was followed by some emperors; but, at last, overweening zeal, with which passion so artfully mixes, took advantage of the sovereign's favour. The gods of Rome were publicly insulted; their statues broken, and their worshippers oppressed. In a short time, the thunder of penal laws was pointed against the ancient rites; it was made capital to offer sacrifices which had formerly been enjoined by law: the altar of Victory, that altar so dear to the nation, was demolished before the eyes of the senate; and though the number of Pagans was still very considerable, though the empire had not strength

Violences
offered to
the Pagans,

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strength sufficient to resist the torrent of enemies which poured upon it, the government excluded from all employments, civil and military, every man who did not conform to the religion of the prince; that is, in a manner cut off the heads and arms which ought to have been used for its defence.

Hence
sprung discord and
fanaticism.

Hence sprung reproaches, injuries, and mutual feuds, so proper to rouse the spirit of fanaticism. Hence factions for or against the new emperors, according as they were imagined to be favourable, or unfavourable, to the several parties. Hence the discontent of the Pagans inflamed to such a degree, that they expressed the highest exultation on the invasion of Italy, by Radagaisus, at the head of two hundred thousand Goths, in the year 405; as if the gods were come in person to avenge their altars. In a word, the Pagans attributed to Christianity all the disasters which befel the empire; and the Christians affirmed, that the remains of Paganism drew upon it the wrath of heaven, while both were less attentive to the common safety, than to their religious quarrels.

The Christians divided among themselves.

To complete the misfortune, the disciples of Christ were inspired with mutual feuds, still more implacable and destructive.

The

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II

The spirit of contention, condemned by St. Paul, became almost universal. New sects sprung up incessantly, and combated each other. Each boasted its apostles, gave its sophisms for divine oracles, pretended to be the depositary of the faith, and used every effort to draw the multitude to its standard. The church was filled with discord. Bishops anathematized bishops; violence was called in to the aid of argument, and the folly of princes fanned the flame which spread with so destructive rage. They played the theologists, attempted to command opinions, and punished those whom they could not convince. The laws against idolaters were soon extended to heretics; but what one emperor proscribed as heretical, was, to another, sound doctrine: thus were the different parties fruitlessly irritated by persecution; for even when directed against heretics, it rendered the catholic faith rather odious than triumphant.

Emperors,
theologists,
and persecu-
tors.

What was the consequence? The clergy, whose influence was already great at court, and still greater among the people, began to withdraw from the sovereign authority that respect which religion inspires. The examples of this are too well known to be mentioned. We would now give the name of seditious libels to some writings of illustrious

The clergy
assume too
great power,

Violent animosity of the sects.

trious personages, who are audaciously quoted by fanatics in their railings against men in authority; but whose virtues they forget, while they use their faults as a plea for their own conduct. The popular ferments being heightened by the animosity of a multitude of the clergy; prince, country, law, and duty, were no longer regarded. Men were Arians, Donatists, Priscillianists, Nestorians, Eutychians, Monothelites, &c. but no longer citizens; or rather every man became the mortal enemy of those citizens whose opinions he condemned. Quite contrary to the practice of the ancient Romans, whose disputes, concerning the most inestimable privileges, were terminated the moment that a signal of war proclaimed the republic in danger. This unheard of madness, for irreconcilable quarrels, on subjects that ought to have been referred to the judgment of the church, never abated amidst the most dreadful disasters. Every sect formed a different party in the state, and their mutual animosities conspired to sap its foundations. It was probably this consideration which so violently prompted Julian to abolish Christianity. Blind in a matter so essential, he attended only to the abuse made of the doctrine, without perceiving that this abuse was expressly condemned

demned by the precepts of Christianity, and that the best members of the community must be formed in the school of the gospel.

These seeds of destruction were daily fostered by the faults of government. Theodosius himself was guilty of imprudence. He permitted the Catholics to use force against the Heretics who met in private houses. Having declared the Manicheans worthy of death, the people thought they had a right to kill them, as proscribed persons; and the emperor was at last obliged to prohibit, under pain of death, those murders which were occasioned by his law. His two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, by their own superstition, and the tyranny of their favourites, hastened the ravages of the torrent which had long threatened the tottering empire.

Injudicious
laws of
Theodosius
and his sons.

Those northern nations, who took up arms against the Romans, unquestionably deserved the appellation of Barbarians: breathing only war and rapine, they went in search of milder climates, and more fertile lands than their forests and mountains; their title was founded on their swords, and they enforced it without scruple, as the right of nature. But, though I am far from having any inclination to write their panegyric, how formidable, how superior were these Barbarians

The Barbarians much superior to the Romans of that period.

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barians to the polished nations whom they attacked ! Simple and severe in their manners, they were unacquainted even with the name of effeminacy ; their extreme frugality made the most scanty provision sufficient ; their bodies, hardened by fatigue, seemed proof against pain ; war being, if I may use the expression, their element, they made a sport of dangers, and braved death with marks of joy.

Though free, and enemies to constraint, they were inviolably attached to their chiefs ; because they elected the most deserving to command. Whatever may be said, a ferocious courage was not their sole virtue. We have a picture of the German manners, drawn by a philosophic historian, where we see the ties of marriage held sacred, a generous hospitality, a hatred of enervating vices, and many estimable traces of wisdom, amply sufficient, with the cultivation of reason, which leads to the true principles of social life, to have formed a people solidly virtuous. Doth not history testify, that even the Huns, those savage banditti, inviolably kept their word ? Let us add, that the Franks, the Goths, and several other barbarous nations, while they combated the Romans, or served in the imperial armies as mercenaries, had acquired ideas and know-

knowledge; and their contempt for a people whom they had made tributary, sufficiently proves, that they possessed a superiority which made conquest certain. Their conquering princes were great men, and those great men at the head of formidable armies attacked weak enemies: the revolution may be accounted for by the courage and policy of the victors, the vices and mistakes of the vanquished.

We shudder at the reading of the barbarities committed in Gaul, and afterwards beyond the Pyrennées, by the Vandals, the Alans, and the Suevi, the first conquerors of Spain. Yet scarce were they masters of the country when we see them soften their ferocity, cultivate the lands, dispel the fears of the inhabitants, and by the fame of their justice and clemency, recal those whom terror had banished from the country.

The Vandals under Genferic.

Some years after, we see Genferic king of the Vandals, quitting Spain for a preferable conquest; by an equal exertion of prudence and valour, wrest Africa from the Romans; create a formidable naval power, though at first not master of a single vessel; support himself in his new conquests with all the skill of a first-rate politician; equally successful in the field and the cabinet;

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binet; and in a word, triumph over the empire till his death, by the same methods with which Rome in the early ages laid the foundations of her grandeur.

Alaric and
the Visi-
goths.

In Italy, Alaric king of the Visigoths displayed a conduct still more worthy of admiration. Though irritated by the repeated treacheries of the court of Honorius, he was neither perfidious nor cruel. He loudly appealed to the faith of treaties, and pursued his revenge with the magnanimity of a hero guided by justice. Twice he spared Rome, and at last being obliged to take it, in 410, he neglected no means of lessening the horrors of his vengeance, he ordered the women to be treated with respect, the churches to be saved, the blood of the vanquished to be spared, and preserved the lives of numbers of Roman citizens. After his death, Ataulfus his successor, heir of his generous sentiments, and a friend to peace, settled in the north of the Alps, near the Pyrennées, and by his virtues gained the hand of Placidia. The moderation of Ataulfus is sufficient proof, had we no other, of the power of the Visigoths.

Attila, a
great man
in many re-
spects.

The fierce Attila, who penetrated into the heart of the western empire, after having made Theodosius II. tremble on the throne
of

of Constantinople; Attila, whom that emperor attempted to assassinate, and who, while he granted his pardon, reproached him as a perfidious slave; Attila, who, though enriched with spoils, received the Roman ambassadors with such noble simplicity, eating a frugal repast from wooden dishes while he caused them to be served in gold plate; Attila, who, on the point of giving up Rome to pillage, relented at the intreaty of a holy pontiff; whose policy equalled his courage and power, who became the terror of the famous Ætius, though once defeated by him; Attila, I say, could easily have dethroned Valentinian III., had he not chosen rather to make him his tributary like Theodosius.

The conquest of Italy was reserved for Odoacer, leader of the Heruli; a man worthy to be the founder of a monarchy in that country, because he was the restorer of peace, security, and happiness, which had long been unknown under the Roman emperors. A new conqueror despoiled him of his acquisitions, but happily for the people that conqueror was Theodoric, a prince above all praise for the virtue of his administration, his desire of the public good, the consummate prudence of his views, the choice of his ministers and generals; in

Odoacer and
Theodoric
conquerors
of Italy.

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a word, for whatever can make a sovereign the idol of his subjects, and the dread of his enemies. The Trajans and Antonini, it seems, were destined to revive in the person of an Ostrogoth, while their successors were a disgrace to the Empire, and the sport of barbarians. The Gothic nation was destined to eclipse the glory of the Roman name, after having so many times ravaged the provinces of the empire! Thus do nations originate, grow up, flourish, degenerate, fall and disappear in succession; and all these vicissitudes have their causes, which may be traced by an attentive study of history.

Contrast between their principles of toleration and the persecuting spirit of Justin.

Sometimes men's pictures may be drawn at a single stroke. Odoacer and Theodoric, who were Arians, equitably protected the catholics. *We have not, said the last of these princes, any authority over religion, for it is impossible to force belief.* On the contrary, the emperor Justin thundered out new edicts against the heterodox, without perceiving that he not only greatly weakened the Empire, but furnished the king of Italy with a reason for treating the catholics in the same manner. In fact, Theodoric in a rage threatened him with it, and Italy was on the brink of losing one of the greatest advantages it enjoyed under

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this monarch's equitable government; of such importance is it to the interests of religion not to irritate its adversaries.

The Franks were less informed than the Goths, and consequently more barbarous; but Clovis united in his person all the qualities proper for extending and securing their conquests. Equally great as a hero and a politician, he made religion as well as arms subservient to his designs: and what reason can be assigned for the eagerness with which Gaul submitted to his government, but because he made it as desirable as the Roman yoke had been odious. Barbarians were wished for; they were received as the avengers of nations subdued by their arms! So great is the horror inspired by tyranny.

Under Justinian, the Empire seemed to recover its vigour. The Vandals, enervated and corrupted in the lap of luxury, sunk under his arms, and were driven out of Africa; the Goths, though they had for their monarch another Theodoric in Totila, were vanquished and expelled from Italy. This temporary revolution was entirely the work of two great men, who, it may be said, were obliged to combat the vices of the government, before they could triumph over the barbarians. Belisarius, unsupplied

Clovis and
the Franks.

Temporary
change un-
der Justi-
nian.

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plied with troops and money, was even obliged to roam through Italy like a fugitive before Totila. Had not Narfes been a consummate courtier, and made the best use of his favour in order to secure every means of success, Totila would not have been vanquished.

Great faults
committed
by that em-
peror.

When we see Justinian paying enormous subsidies to the Persians, the Huns, the Turks, the Abares, &c.; exhausting his treasury by a prodigious number of useless buildings; ruining his provinces by oppressive taxes; employing Belisarius in cases of necessity, without granting him the requisite supplies, and disgracing him after the most important services; declaring himself the partisan of one of the factions of the Circus, and by that shameful imprudence arming the sanguinary rage of the factions; erecting himself into a doctor of the church, or rather a judge of the faith, amidst the calamities of war; depopulating whole countries by persecuting the heterodox; afterwards falling into heresy and persecuting the catholics; collecting in his Code and Digest, an endless number of laws which almost died with him, and even perpetually changing those laws by new regulations, equally trifling and venal;—when, I say, we examine the
actions

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actions of this prince, and the monuments he left behind him, we justly suspect the encomiums lavished upon him by the civilians, and clearly foresee that his reign will be followed by fatal revolutions.

They began even in the reign of his successor Justin II. The Italians, from a zeal for orthodoxy, had withdrawn their allegiance from the kings of the Ostrogoths, whose equitable laws spared their property and tolerated their faith, but immediately repented when they felt the weight of a more oppressive government. The wished-for change was brought about by the intrigues of the court of Constantinople against Narfes. Alboinus, at the head of the Lombards, entered Italy, and easily made himself master of almost the whole country; where, by the justice and mildness of his government, he secured the affections of the people, and was succeeded by a series of prudent monarchs, who made the laws their rule of conduct. This fine country still gained by changing the yoke of the Emperors for that of the barbarians, who were so rashly despised.

The Lombards settled in Italy.

We need but cast an eye on the East, to be fully convinced of the source of those unavoidable revolutions which I am examining. While the emperor Heraclius

Imprudent conduct of Heraclius in the east.

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Mahomet
and the
Arabians.

tarnished the lustre of his victories over the Persians by sinking into lethargic indolence, from which he awaked only to fix his attention on the reveries of the Monothelites; whilst by his *ecthesis*, he attempted to regulate the faith and provoked the Theologians to new disputes, Mahomet united the Arabians under his dominion, made them a nation of heroes, and set the springs of fanaticism in motion with such dexterity, that his subjects, who submitted with the greatest humility to his absurd oracles, were invincible warriors against their neighbours. With a handful of Musselmen he gave the first blow to the Empire, and destroyed a numerous army of Heraclius. His two first successors, Abubeker and Omar, poor, virtuous, prudent, and intrepid, flew from conquest to conquest. Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Africa, besides the extensive kingdom of the Persians, in a few years fell under the Arabian yoke. A singular instance, where superiority of conduct is not less visible than superiority of valour.

Their conduct with
regard to the
Christians.

Those warriors, who are sometimes painted as monsters insatiably thirsting after blood, always offered an alternative to the vanquished, either to pay tribute or embrace Islamism; if they chose the last, they shared

shared in the advantages of the victors; if the first, they were sure of being treated with moderation. What could the cowardly and cruel policy of the emperors oppose to such means of aggrandisement, supported by every thing proper to secure victory? If the Musselmén had not, in their turn, been infected with the poison of riches and grandeur, and the madness of religious quarrels, perhaps the whole known world had been swallowed up in their empire.

Corruption and weakness on one side; The Romans naturally vanquished by all the barbarous nations. bravery, vigour, activity and policy, on the other; are the most visible causes of the establishment of the barbarians on the ruins of the empire. To enter into particulars of that kind, would open a boundless field. The misconduct of the princes, the crimes of the court, the treachery of the generals, the seditions of the people, the acts of villany, cowardice, and meanness are numberless. The barbarians were unquestionably most worthy of reigning, because, from the Tagus to the Euphrates, the nations found a breathing time when freed from the pressure of the Roman power.

But however necessary that revolution might be, its being brought about by barbarians, ought to be looked upon as a Dismal effects of the revolution. misfortune.

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misfortune. Let us observe its effects on the laws, manners, the human faculties, and religion. We shall find reason to lament the fate of our species, which seldom emerges from one gulph but to plunge into another.

The Roman laws disused.

Though the Roman laws, especially those posterior to the reign of Constantine, were mixed with some abuses, yet, in general, they were the best which unassisted reason had produced. They were adopted by the great Theodoric, and his genius, seconded by Cassiodorus, eagerly embraced that method of making his government more gentle and more respected in Italy. But his example was very little followed. Chindasuinthus, a king of the Visigoths, in Spain, condemned those laws as abounding with difficulties, and too subtle for the prompt decision of causes. Probably the other nations rejected them from the same notion, and it must be acknowledged, that the simplicity of the German laws was better suited to artless ignorant men, warriors equally incapable of application and constraint.

Abuses in the laws of the barbarians.

The laws of the barbarians then prevailed almost universally, and with them prevailed disorders. Though mild in appearance, because they spared the lives of malefactors,

factors, they failed in the main end of legislation, by not sufficiently repressing crimes. Is not a permission to compound for murder by the payment of a certain sum, a declaration, authorising the rich to commit that crime with impunity? Did not the proof by duel, which was established for the decision of causes, reduce every thing to the right of the strongest? Did not the absurd trials by red hot iron, water, the cross, &c. change justice into sleights of strength or dexterity? We find those extravagant abuses even in the laws of the Lombards, which, in other respects, are so full of moderation and equity, that they kept their ground in Italy even after the expulsion of that people. So much is the power of custom superior even to reason!

Though the conquerors did not adopt the laws of the vanquished, they notwithstanding permitted the use of them to the natives. In Italy, Gaul, and Spain, the Roman was at first judged by the Roman laws. But not to mention, that, by a mixture of blood, he must, in process of time, become a Lombard, Frank, or Visigoth; these discordant laws necessarily gave rise to new disorders, when the judicial authority lost sight of the first principles, and legislation, far from improving, became every day

Dangerous mixture of the two systems of legislation.

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day more dark and imperfect. Thus what ought to have constituted the happiness of society contributed to its misery.

Govern-
ment of the
barbarians
excellent in
appearance.

However, it must be agreed, that the form of government established by the barbarians has a captivating appearance. Instead of that despotism exercised by the emperors, we here see liberty seated under the shadow of the throne. The national assemblies kept up the balance of the national rights against the prince. The laws by which all were bound, really were, or seemed to be, the work of all, by being enacted with general consent. The barbarians never looked upon kings, but as generals or chief magistrates. Accordingly, among them, the crown was never so strictly hereditary, that a father could, as matter of right, transfer it to a son incapable of wearing it.

Inconveni-
encies re-
sulting from
it,

Let us not suffer ourselves to be dazzled by false appearances. This form of government, which appears the most worthy of our nature, which is excellently calculated for a virtuous and moderate people, became a source of convulsions and anarchy. I omit the numerous instances of great monarchs being assassinated, of wicked princes raised to the throne by intrigue or violence. I confine myself to fundamental principles. Even among the Lombards,
whose

whose wisdom is so highly extolled, the bulk of the people had no share in the general assemblies. It is but too clearly proved by all histories, to what a low degree of abasement that part of the community was reduced, which by its labour supports the rest, which confines its desires to so narrow a compass; and which, notwithstanding the civilization and refinement of our manners, is still in so miserable a condition through almost all Europe. In fact, the great men, the magistrates, who were at the same time invested with military command, if they had not the right, at least possessed the power of regulating all affairs of state in conjunction with the prince. Their natural roughness of temper, their contempt for agriculture, commerce, and the arts, combined to make them neglect and trample upon men whom they scarce distinguished from their slaves.

Abasement
of the people.

And how jealous of their power were those great men, those members of the public council, how eager to seize every opportunity of extending it! Sharers in the power of legislation with the crown, of which they sometimes disposed at their pleasure, what powerful means did they not possess for gratifying their ambition? The kings conferred upon them benefices which

Independence of the great.

Fiefs,

which were afterwards known by the name of Fiefs. These lands separated from the royal domain, but revocable at the will of the sovereign, were a kind of pay for their military service, upon which tenure they were held. But must not the man who enjoyed the usufruct, naturally wish for the possession; must he not be accustomed to look upon the property of the land, whose profits he reaped with pleasure, as a desirable acquisition, and endeavour to make it hereditary in his family, especially when he had strength sufficient to give him reasonable hopes of success?

Feudal government.

Thus was the embryo of the feudal government contained in the constitution of the new monarchies, which afterwards unfolded itself, and shot under ground many concealed roots, before it produced that unnatural mixture of royalty without power, and vassalage without submission; a mixture from which sprung the greatest calamities that have afflicted Europe.

Feudal anarchy.

Though the feudal law originated among the Lombards, Giannoné justly observes, that before them fiefs were known even in Italy. The German nations every where established the use of them, which they made an essential part of their government. Men of superior genius would have been

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every where necessary to prevent their abuse; but in every country, the weakness and unskilful conduct of princes raised an innumerable multitude of usurpers, who equally tyrannised over the subjects and sovereigns. The feudal government became an universal scourge, worthy of the manners of those nations who destroyed the Empire.

If the Romans, notwithstanding their taste and luxury, still preserved, in some degree, the rust of barbarism; for instance, their fondness for sanguinary diversions, and the animosity that prevailed between the factions of the Circus; if the manners grew more savage when the barbarians were admitted into the armies, held offices, and were enrolled among the citizens, barbarism must necessarily become general and permanent, after the country fell under their dominion; and though its effects were suspended by Theodoric, and a few other great men, they could not destroy its root. The infection was not at first so powerful in Italy, because there the people were more polished: But at last, all the conquered countries were stamped with the character of the victors; and perhaps the good institutions which they borrowed
from

Barbarous
manners.

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from the vanquished, by degenerating, increased the evil.

Causes of
the preva-
lence of vir-
tue among
the ancient
Romans.

In ancient Rome, republican virtue (which however does not deserve the excessive praises that have been bestowed on it, because it was united with ambition and injustice) subsisted a long time, either from poverty being esteemed honourable; the people being employed in the innocent labours of agriculture, or the influence of the laws borrowed from Greece, which produced a double benefit, the cultivation of manners, and the reformation of abuses.

Every thing
naturally
grew worse
among the
nations who
succeeded
them.

On the contrary, among the nations which divided the Empire, every thing conspired to the growth of barbarism; it was fostered by their laws, their government, and their customs. As they despised the arts, and placed all merit in the exercise of arms, by the sudden acquisition of vast territories, they contracted the habits of vice, without losing their natural ferocity. They entertained too great a contempt for the Romans to form themselves by their example; and indeed those, who then went under that name in the provinces, were, for the most part, only a herd of wretches, sunk below the dignity of human nature, and therefore unworthy of being set up for models.

dels. Duels, acts of violence and robberies, were perpetuated. The sword was the criterion of honour, the standard of right and wrong. The more incapable the government was, of repressing licentiousness, which it even authorised by its own excesses, the more it gave play to the impetuosity of the national character. The Franks are represented by Agathias, as a gentle and polished people, considering they were barbarians, yet what acts of savage cruelty stain their history! What scenes of horror do we find after Clovis, not to mention those of his reign! And is it not sufficient only to name Fredegonda and Brunehaut; those two furies, who drenched themselves in the blood of the people, to glut their ambition and revenge! Yet these sanguinary women only followed the torrent of the manners, with the propensity of the passions. Charlemagne, the wonder of his age, attempted a reformation, the very plan of which deserves immortality. But what was the effect of his endeavours, except to leave monuments of a zeal, equally laudable and fruitless? Like the Czar Peter, he would have created a new nation, if, like him, he had found a model; but meeting every where only with barbarism, he left Europe under its influence.

Their excesses.

Charlemagne attempts in vain to reform them.

How

Barbarism
fostered by
ignorance.

How was it possible that the nations should acquire humanity, justice, or the social virtues, when reason was sunk in the thickest darkness? Ignorance having long overspread the West, and quenched almost every ray of knowledge, by which Rome was once enlightened, had substituted pernicious, or ridiculous errors in its stead. False taste, the common indication of a perverted understanding, prevailed in their writings. The cultivation of letters was neglected; for the faculties of the soul were absorbed by a sense of danger and the public calamities. Eloquence consisted in futile declamations; philosophy was lost in the abyss of sophistical theology; the war which was kindled, either between the two religions, or the orthodox and heretics, had turned men's minds from an attention to natural truths, losing sight of which is always pernicious, even to religion; and the principles of politics and morality were greatly corrupted, of which we have a proof even in their laws.

This ignorance
necessarily in-
creased.

But the ignorance of the barbarians, compared to that of the Romans, is in proportion of the total darkness of night, to the glimmering of the twilight. Among them, therefore, ignorance must establish her throne, and reign jointly with barbarism.

rism. The little knowledge, which still subsisted among the vanquished, could not enlighten men who were enemies of learning and reflection; and the vanquished could not conform to the prejudices of the victors.

Yet we have seen the Tartars, after their conquest of China, in a manner brought into subjection, by the reason and maxims of the Chinese. This difference is amazing, but it may be explained. The Chinese empire being founded upon uniform principles, held inviolably sacred, rooted in the hearts of an innumerable multitude; the sovereign authority deriving its vigour from those maxims, and the literati being the depositaries of the laws, the guides of opinion, and the prime movers of the government; the Tartars found themselves under a necessity, either of changing that fine country into a desert, by a massacre of the inhabitants, and losing the fruits of their conquest, or of becoming Chinese, to insure the quiet possession of China. On the contrary, the provinces successively dismembered from the Roman empire, readily submitted to the yoke of the Barbarians; their inhabitants were not at that time even possessed of a superiority of reason sufficient to give them an ascendant over the minds of

The case here not the same as in China, where the Tartars were enlightened.

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their conquerors. Barbarism, in a greater or less degree, already prevailed universally; and its influence necessarily increased every day.

Fatal effects
of igno-
rance.

I shall not stop to draw a picture of the horrid ignorance in which Europe was buried. We blush for our ancestors, and lament the brutal debasement of the human mind. If there be still any persons so uncandid as to calumniate science, because it is sometimes abused, let them, at least, compare this abuse with the endless mischiefs produced by ancient barbarism: so many prejudices, destructive of civil order, of the rights of mankind, humanity, decency, and virtue; so many shameful errors established as certain truths; and so many truths tyrannically proscribed as errors; so many obstinate contentions for frivolous opinions; so many citizens sacrificed; so many states overthrown by the influence of false principles. If they dissemble these mischiefs, they are guilty of dishonesty; if they are not acquainted with them, history speaks, and truth is triumphant.

Blind super-
stition.

The greatest of these, unquestionably, was the corruption of a divine religion, which, had it been better known, would have prevented and corrected all disorders. When we examine the practice of the Barbarians,

barians, notwithstanding their excessive zeal for Christianity, we almost in vain look among them for Christians. Their devotion, equally blind and sanguinary, made them perpetually see miracles of the saints, and seldom the distinguishing characteristics of sanctity; ignorant of the precepts of the gospel, it was supported by fables; winked at debauchery, rapines, and murder, from a belief that the kingdom of heaven might be purchased by ridiculous observances, or costly foundations; conscientiously perpetrated, in the name of God, for his glory, and under pretence of his commands, all the evil that fanaticism could inspire, and violated all the beneficent virtues prescribed by religion. Such Christians have sometimes been extolled by the compilers of chronicles, equally ignorant with themselves; because, in the common opinion, largesses, profusely bestowed on churches and monasteries, redeemed all crimes.

A consequence of that madness, and one of the principal effects of the establishment of the Barbarians, was that excessive power which soon made the clergy masters of the subjects and the sovereigns. The emperors, by calling them to the court, and mixing theology with political affairs, had im-

Excessive
power of the
clergy.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

prudently roused the enterprizing spirit of a body so respectable, so useful, so holy in the primitive ages ; but who might one day be rendered dangerous by the abuse of their august ministry, and the evil increased with incredible rapidity.

In Spain
the bishops
dispose of
the crown.

The less the Barbarians were informed, the more were they addicted to superstition, and the more blindly did they give themselves up to the shepherds of souls, who were not themselves sufficiently enlightened to discern the true spirit of Christianity, and were too obnoxious to the weakneses of humanity, to keep within the limits of their function. From the very beginning of the monarchy of the Visigoths in Spain, the bishops shared with the lords the right of electing the king, were absolute in their dioceses, and regulated the affairs of government in the great councils of the nation : being intrusted with the important office of new modelling and drawing up a body of laws, they performed the task in the manner best suited to their own interest and prejudices. “ To the code “ of the Visigoths, says the celebrated “ Montesquieu, we owe all the maxims, “ principles, and views of the present in- “ quisition ; the Monks have only copied “ laws,

“ laws, formerly enacted by the bishops,
 “ and enforced them against the Jews.”

Esprit des Loix, l. 28. c. i.

Clovis, who was partly indebted to the prelates for the submission of the people, bestowed on them, with unlimited profusion, whatever could serve to increase their power. His successors were more lavish, because less political. Under the French monarchs of the first race, the clergy rose to such a pitch of grandeur, that nothing was wanting but an opportunity for them to make and unmake kings, as had been done by a council of Toledo, at the end of the seventh century, under the reign of the unfortunate Wamba. Pepin learned by experience, how serviceable the favour of the bishops might be to the views of ambition; and Lewis the Debonnaire, Charles the Bald, and other princes, were taught in the same manner how formidable their disgust might be to the crown.

They were likewise legislators in France.

The mixed assemblies, so frequent under Charlemagne, which are sometimes called councils, at others parliaments, whatever encomiums they may deserve in other respects, were calculated for increasing an abuse, which had before prevailed under the Roman emperors. By mingling the ecclesiastical laws with the civil, they confounded

The ecclesiastical laws confounded with the civil.

things too heterogeneous, and paved the way for destroying all distinction between those two powers. Though a monarch of Charlemagne's superior genius could safely admit the clergy to a share in the legislation, was there not reason to apprehend, that, under weak and ignorant princes, they would engross the whole authority? In fact they did so; for many of their ordinances, on matters purely respecting civil order, had often the force of law. Let us be just; we will rather impute it to the ignorance of the laity, than the ambition of the priests.

Other
abuses.

At last, every thing was, for a time, sunk in the most dreadful confusion. The bishops and abbots, metamorphosed into barons, adopted the military life, and engaged in wars; held councils, after acting as generals, and introduced the genius of temporal dominion into the exercise of spiritual power. Church censures, the end of which was to convert sinners, became a formidable instrument for the defence of lands, the maintenance of privileges, and sometimes unjust pretensions. The clerks, who alone preserved some faint tincture of letters, scarce more than the knowledge of reading and writing, by that means erected themselves into a tribunal, where they
judged

judged all affairs by maxims unknown to antiquity. Marriages, wills, contracts, the interests of families, of courts, the state of the living and of the dead, were all converted into instruments for promoting their credit, and increasing their riches. To impute these abuses to religion, is impious and absurd; for when freed from its trammels, it bore witness against them, and furnished means for their reformation. I shall add a remark, the truth of which cannot be questioned: the power exercised by the ministers of the altar, notwithstanding their vices and usurpations, was still salutary; because, without it, crimes would have been subjected to no kind of restraint.

Ought we, after this, to be surprised, that the popes, when by the benefactions of the kings of France they became princes, soon confounded the sacred rights of their See with the chimerical projects of ambition? that they often acted less like sovereign pontiffs, than sovereign masters of Christendom? and that the bishops, the people, and the kings so often crouched under the despotism of the court of modern Rome? At a time when, in many countries of Europe, a man who understood the Lord's Prayer, was thought sufficiently qualified for the priesthood; the people did not ex-

Enterprises
of the popes.

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amine the gospel to find in it, that the kingdom of Jesus Christ is not of this world; nor were they capable of concluding from it, that St. Peter's successors had not inherited from him universal empire: far from searching in the ecclesiastical monuments for the ancient rules, they even did not suspect that any such existed; the popes were believed to be above human nature; they were almost equalled with gods, but unluckily they were only men.

How Europe at last emerged out of barbarism.

Such were the most remarkable consequences of the revolution by which the Roman empire was destroyed. They, doubtless, proceeded in part from the state of debasement in which that empire languished before its fall. But the manners and ignorance of the Barbarians were equally pernicious with the superstition and vices of the conquered people. Is it then agreeable to the incomprehensible order in which human affairs are arranged, that barbarism and politeness, folly and wisdom, stupidity and knowledge, evil and good, should circulate from one region to another, and mutually succeed each other in the same country? Could it have been believed, that the first rays of the light which diffused itself through Europe, in the midst of universal darkness, should proceed from those
 Arabians,

Arabians, who had burned the library of Alexandria; because, according to them, all truths were contained in the Koran? Could it have been believed, that Italy, torn in pieces, and loaded with fetters, would be the first to teach the Europeans the art of writing and thinking? Could it have been believed, that France and England, after ages of brutal ignorance, would surpass the schools of Athens, not only in matters of science, but sometimes even in productions of taste? Could it have been believed, that Germany, Switzerland, and the frozen regions of the North, would all at once produce phænomena of literature and science? that literary bodies, vested with no authority but that of reason; that private persons should, from their closets, give laws to the human mind, enlighten governments, and even nations; and that an infinite number of errors, which had been the scourge of society, should be dissipated like a light vapour before the sun? Revolutions equally astonishing with any to which the world was ever witness.

This picture dispenses us from entering into several particulars, which would make an elementary treatise too unwieldy. The dreadful objects it presents, make us lament

It will be-
forehand
experience
the greatest
misfortunes.

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ment the lot of the nations. Europe, so unhappy under the Roman yoke, was miserable for a long time under the dominion of the Barbarians; and many ages passed before reason brought back order and humanity. But at last we shall see the darkness dispelled, the manners polished, the social virtues produced, by the cultivation of genius; and notwithstanding the vices of human nature, and the faults in the governments, the people arriving at a degree of knowledge, in which it is to be hoped that every thing tending towards perfection, the evils lessening with the number of crimes, the general and particular good increasing by reciprocal influence, the laws and manners mutually aiding each other, Europe, under a wise government, will enjoy all the advantages that ought to soften the uneasinesses inseparable from life.

It is of importance to be well acquainted with the manners and principles of the Barbarians, who founded so many modern monarchies. Some observations on that subject will be found at the end of our first Epochas; but the quotation I have here subjoined, appeared to me peculiarly well calculated for the instruction of readers whose attention is turned to general ideas. It may serve as a model, in the same manner as Dr. Robertson's introduction to the history of Charles V. to form an excellent result from particular facts. It is taken from An Essay on the History of civil Society, by Dr. Ferguson, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, Part II. Chap. 3.

Of rude nations under the impression of property and interest.

“**I**N the west of Europe; in America, from south to north, with a few exceptions; in the torrid zone, and every where within the warmer climates; mankind

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kind have generally applied themselves to some species of agriculture, and have been disposed to settlement. In the east and the north of Asia, they depended entirely on their herds, and were perpetually shifting their ground in search of new pasture. The arts, which pertain to settlement, have been practised, and variously cultivated, by the inhabitants of Europe. Those which are consistent with perpetual migration, have, from the earliest accounts of history, remained nearly the same with the Scythian and Tartar. The tent pitched on a moveable carriage, the horse applied to every purpose of labour, and of war, of the dairy, and of the butcher's stall, from the earliest to the latest accounts, have made up the riches and equipage of this wandering people.

“ But in whatever way rude nations subsist, there are certain points in which, under the first impressions of property, they nearly agree. Homer either lived with a people in this stage of their progress, or found himself engaged to exhibit their character. Tacitus has made them the subject of a particular treatise; and if this be an aspect under which mankind deserve to be viewed, it must be confessed, that we have singular advantages in collecting their features.

The

The portrait has already been drawn by the ablest hands, and gives at one view, in the writings of these celebrated authors, whatever has been scattered in the relations of historians, or whatever we have opportunities to observe in the actual manners of men, who still remain in a similar state.

“ In passing from the condition we have described, to this we have at present in view, mankind still retain many parts of their earliest character. They are still averse to labour, addicted to war, admirers of fortitude, and, in the language of Tacitus, more lavish of their blood than of their sweat. They are fond of fantastic ornaments in their dress, and endeavour to fill up the listless intervals of a life addicted to violence, with hazardous sports, and games of chance. Every servile occupation they commit to women and slaves. But we may apprehend, that the individual having now a separate interest, the bands of society must become less firm, and domestic disorders more frequent. The members of any community being distinguished among themselves by unequal shares in the distribution of property, the ground of a permanent and palpable subordination is laid.

“ Members

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“Members of the same community enter into quarrels of competition or revenge. They unite in following leaders, who are distinguished by their fortunes, and by the lustre of their birth. They join the desire of spoil with the love of glory; and from an opinion, that what is acquired by force justly pertains to the victor, they become hunters of men, and bring every contest to the decision of the sword.

“A similar spirit reigned, without exception, in all the barbarous nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The antiquities of Greece and Italy, and the fables of every ancient poet, contain examples of its force. It was this spirit that brought our ancestors first into the provinces of the Roman empire; and that afterwards, more than perhaps their reverence for the cross, led them to the east, to share with the Tartars in the spoils of the Saracen empire.

“From the descriptions contained in the last section (of rude nations prior to the establishment of property) we may incline to believe, that mankind, in their simplest state, are on the eve of erecting republics. Their love of equality, their habit of assembling in public councils, and their zeal for the tribe to which they belong, are qualifications

qualifications that fit them to act under that species of government; and they seem to have but a few steps to make, in order to reach its establishment. They have only to define the numbers of which their councils shall consist, and to settle the forms of their meeting: they have only to bestow a permanent authority for repressing disorders, and to enact a few rules in favour of that justice they have already acknowledged, and from inclination so strictly observe.

“ But these steps are far from being so easily made, as they appear on a slight or a transient view. The resolution of chusing, from among their equals, the magistrate to whom they give from thenceforward a right to controul their own actions, is far from the thoughts of simple men; and no eloquence, perhaps, could make them adopt this measure, or give them any sense of its use.

“ Before this important change is admitted, men must be accustomed to the distinction of ranks; and before they are sensible that subordination is matter of choice, must arrive at unequal conditions by chance. In desiring property, they only mean to secure their subsistence; but the brave who lead in war, have likewise the largest share in the spoils.

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spoils. The eminent are fond of devising hereditary honours; and the multitude, who admire the parent, are ready to extend their esteem to his offspring.

“ Possessions descend, and the lustre of family grows brighter with age. Hercules, who perhaps was an eminent warrior, became a god with posterity, and his race was set apart for royalty and sovereign power. When the distinctions of fortune and those of birth are conjoined, the chieftain enjoys a pre-eminence, as well at the feast as in the field. His followers take their place in subordinate stations; and instead of considering themselves as parts of a community, they rank as the followers of a chieftain, and take their designation from the name of their leader. They find a new object of public affection, in defending his person, and in supporting his station; they lend of their substance to form his estate; they are guided by his smiles and his frowns; and court, as the highest distinction, a share in the feast which their own contributions have furnished.

“ As the former state of mankind seemed to point at democracy, this seems to exhibit the rudiments of monarchical government. But it is yet far short of that establishment, which is known in after

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ages by the name of *monarchy*. The distinction between the leader and the follower, the prince and the subject, is still but imperfectly marked; their pursuits and occupations are not different; their minds are not unequally cultivated; they feed from the same dish; they sleep together on the ground; the children of the king, as well as those of the subject, are employed in tending the flock; and the keeper of the swine was a prime counsellor at the court of Ulysses.

“ The chieftain, sufficiently distinguished from his tribe to excite their admiration, and to flatter their vanity, by a supposed affinity to his noble descent, is the object of their veneration, not of their envy: he is considered as the common bond of connection, not as their common master; is foremost in danger, and has a principal share in their troubles: his glory is placed in the number of his attendants, in his superior magnanimity and valour; that of his followers, in being ready to shed their blood in his service.

“ The frequent practice of war tends to strengthen the bands of society, and the practice of depredation itself engages men in trials of mutual attachment and courage. What threatened to ruin and overset every

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good

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good disposition in the human breast, what seemed to banish justice from the societies of men, tends to unite the species in clans and fraternities; formidable, indeed, and hostile to one another, but, in the domestic society of each, faithful, disinterested, and generous. Frequent dangers, and the experience of fidelity and valour, awaken the love of those virtues, render them a subject of admiration, and endear their possessors.

“ Actuated by great passions, the love of glory, and the desire of victory; roused by the menaces of an enemy, or stung with revenge; in suspense between the prospects of ruin or conquest, the Barbarian spends every moment of relaxation in the indulgence of sloth. He cannot descend to the pursuits of industry or mechanical labour: the beast of prey is a sluggard; the hunter and the warrior sleeps, while women or slaves are made to toil for his bread. But shew him a quarry at a distance, he is bold, impetuous, artful, and rapacious: no bar can withstand his violence, and no fatigue can allay his activity.

“ Even under this description, mankind are generous and hospitable to strangers. . . . Nations and tribes are their prey: the solitary traveller, by whom they can acquire
only

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only the reputation of generosity, is suffered to pass unhurt, or is treated with splendid munificence.

“ Though distinguished into small cantons under their several chieftains, and for the most part separated by jealousy and animosity; yet, when pressed by wars and formidable enemies, they sometimes unite in greater bodies. Like the Greeks in their expedition to Troy, they follow some remarkable leader, and compose a kingdom of many separate tribes. But such coalitions are merely occasional, and even, during their continuance, more resemble a republic than a monarchy. The inferior chieftains reserve their importance, and intrude, with an air of equality, into the councils of their leader, as the people of their several clans commonly intrude upon them. Upon what motive, indeed, could we suppose, that men who live together in the greatest familiarity, and amongst whom the distinctions of rank are so obscurely marked, would resign their personal sentiments and inclinations, or pay an implicit submission to a leader who can neither overawe nor corrupt ?

“ Military force must be employed to extort, or the hire of the venal to buy, that engagement which the Tartar comes

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under to his prince, when he promises,
“ That he will go where he shall be com-
“ manded; that he will come when he
“ shall be called; that he will kill whoever
“ is pointed out to him; and, for the fu-
“ ture, that he will consider the voice of
“ the king as a sword.”

“ These are the terms to which even the stubborn heart of the Barbarian has been reduced, in consequence of a despotism he himself had established; and men have, in that low state of the commercial arts, in Europe as well as in Asia, tasted of political slavery. When interest prevails in every breast, the sovereign and his party cannot escape the infection; he employs the force with which he is intrusted, to turn his people into a property, and to command their possessions for his profit or pleasure. If riches are by any people made the standard of good and of evil, let them beware of the powers they intrust to their prince. “ With the Suiones,” says Tacitus, “ riches are in high esteem; and this
“ people are accordingly disarmed, and
“ reduced to slavery.”

“ Where rude nations escape this calamity, they require the exercise of foreign wars to maintain domestic peace: when no enemy appears from abroad, they have
leisure

leisure for private feuds, and employ that courage in their dissensions at home, which, in time of war, is employed in defence of their country.

“ Among the Gauls,” says Cæsar, “ there
“ are subdivisions not only in every nation,
“ and in every district and village, but al-
“ most in every house, every one must fly
“ to some patron for protection.” In this distribution of parties, not only the feuds of clans, but the quarrels of families, even the differences and competitions of individuals, are decided by force. The sovereign, when unassisted by superstition, endeavours in vain to employ his jurisdiction, or to procure a submission to the decisions of law. By a people who are accustomed to owe their possessions to violence, and who despise fortune itself without the reputation of courage, no umpire is admitted but the sword. Scipio offered his arbitration, to terminate the competition of two Spaniards in a disputed succession. “ That,” said they, “ we have already refused to our relations: we do not submit our difference to the judgment of men; and, even among the gods, we appeal to Mars alone.”

“ It is well known, that the nations of Europe carried this mode of proceeding to

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a degree of formality unheard of in other parts of the world; the civil and criminal judge could, in most cases, do no more than appoint the list, and leave the parties to decide their cause by the combat: they apprehended, that the victor had a verdict of the gods in his favour; and when they dropped in any instance this extraordinary form of process, they substituted in its place some other more capricious appeal to chance; in which they likewise thought, that the judgment of the gods was declared.

“ The fierce nations of Europe were even fond of the combat, as an exercise and a sport. In the absence of real quarrels, companions challenged each other to a trial of skill, in which one of them frequently perished. When Scipio celebrated the funeral of his father and his uncle, the Spaniards came in pairs to fight, and, by a public exhibition of their duels, to increase the solemnity.

“ In this wild and lawless state, where the effects of true religion would have been so desirable, and so salutary, superstition frequently disputes the ascendant even with the admiration of valour; and an order of men, like the Druids among the ancient Gauls and Britons, or some pretender

tender to divination, as at the Cape of Good Hope, finds, in the credit which is paid to his forcery, a way to the possession of power: his magic wand comes in competition with the sword itself, and, in the manner of the Druids, gives the first rudiments of civil government to some; or, like the supposed descendant of the Sun among the Natchez, and the Lama among the Tartars, to others, an early taste of despotism and absolute slavery.

“ We are generally at a loss to conceive, how mankind can subsist under customs and manners extremely different from our own; and we are apt to exaggerate the misery of barbarous times, by an imagination of what we ourselves should suffer in a situation to which we are not accustomed. But every age hath its consolations, as well as its sufferings. In the interval of occasional outrages, the friendly intercourses of men, even in their rudest condition, is affectionate and happy. In rude ages, the persons and properties of individuals are secure, because each has a friend, as well as an enemy; and if the one is disposed to molest, the other is ready to protect: and the very admiration of valour, which, in some instances, tends to sanctify violence, inspires likewise certain maxims of generosity

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rosity and honour, that tend to prevent the commission of wrongs.

“ Men bear with the defects of their policy, as they do with hardships and inconveniencies in their manner of living. The alarms and the fatigues of war become a necessary recreation to those who are accustomed to them, and who have the tone of their passions raised above less animating or trying occasions. Old men, among the courtiers of Attila, wept, when they heard of heroic deeds, which they themselves could no longer perform; and among the Celtic nations, when age rendered the warrior unfit for former toils, it was the custom, in order to abridge the languors of a listless and inactive life, to sue for death at the hands of his friends.

“ With all this ferocity of spirit, the rude nations of the West were subdued by the policy and more regular warfare of the Romans. The point of honour which the Barbarians of Europe adopted as individuals, exposed them to a peculiar disadvantage, by rendering them, even in their national wars, averse to assailing their enemy by surprise, or taking the benefit of a stratagem; and though separately bold and intrepid, yet, like other rude nations, they were, when assembled in great bodies,
addicted

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addicted to superstition, and subject to panics.

“Disposed to consider every event as a judgment of the gods, they were never qualified, by an uniform application of prudence, to make the most of their forces, to repair their misfortunes, or to improve their advantages*.

“Religed to the government of affection and passion, they were generous and faithful, where they had fixed an attachment; implacable, froward, and cruel, where they had conceived a dislike. Addicted to debauchery, and the immoderate use of intoxicating liquors, they deliberated on the affairs of state in the heat of their riot; and in the same dangerous moments conceived the designs of military enterprise, or terminated their domestic dissensions by the dagger or the sword.

“In their wars they preferred death to captivity. The victorious armies of the Romans, in entering a town by assault, or in forcing an encampment, have found the mother in the act of destroying her children, that they might not be taken; and the dagger of the parent, red with the blood

* Mr. Fergusson speaks here of the barbarous nations conquered by the Romans. A regular system of politics was formed with their settlements.

of

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of his family, ready to be plunged at last into his own breast.

“In all these particulars we perceive that vigour of spirit, which renders disorder itself respectable, and which qualifies men, if fortunate in their situation, to lay the basis of domestic liberty, as well as to maintain against foreign enemies their national independence and freedom.”

ELEMENTS

MODERN HISTORY. 365

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ELEMENTS
OF
GENERAL HISTORY.
PART SECOND.

MODERN HISTORY.

ALMOST the whole of this work will be taken up with the History of Europe, into which we shall introduce nothing but what is necessary to be known, in order to direct us in the particular study of nations. A few glances, occasionally thrown upon the other quarters, will give the general ideas necessary to fix the judgment with regard to the state of the world. Let us hastily run over the first ages; for in the darkness of barbarism, it is almost sufficient to observe the original of things. Let us trace the principal events in succession, without servilely confining ourselves to chronological

Design of
this part of
General
History.

nological order, whence would rather spring confusion than clearness. It is of importance to know, not the precise date of facts, but their connection with mankind and with the good or ill fortune of society.

The order of things is, doubtless, preferable to that of times; and from the immense crowd of materials, those only are to be selected, from which we can draw information. Truth and utility are the end of our studies.

In the first part of this work we have traced the history of the Roman empire to the time of Mahomet; we have seen the conquests and first settlements of the Barbarians, particularly the Ostrogoths in Italy, and the revolutions they met with in the reign of Justinian. We shall here go back beyond the period to which we came down; but without repetition, only because the order of the transactions seems to require it.

FIRST

FIRST EPOCH A.

Foundation of the French government.——

Barbarism spread through Europe, from Clovis to Charlemagne, including about three centuries.

CHAP. I.

French Monarchy till the time that the Mayors of the Palace acquired absolute dominion.

THIS multitude of barbarous nations issuing from Germany, and establishing themselves on the ruins of the Western Empire, had every where brought with them the same fund of character, the same barbarism, and nearly the same customs. They were unskilled in the arts of peace, breathed only war, and their laws were filled with abuses. Their kings were, properly speaking, only generals; their magistrates, ignorant warriors; and their national assemblies, a body of soldiers, rapacious and impetuous. If then they were not governed by a succession of great men, who are always uncommon, even among polished nations, they must remain the longer unjust and ferocious; as in the conquered provinces

General idea of the Barbarians who had destroyed the empire.

provinces they found fewer examples of humanity and justice, fewer principles and morals. Had not the Romans strangely degenerated, they would either have vanquished or civilized their conquerors.

Their settlements in Gaul.

The Visigoths had seized upon Spain, and a great part of Gaul. The Burgundians occupied vast provinces between the Saône, the Rhône, and the Alps; the Franks, or French, already masters of Tournay, and the banks of the Scheld, had extended themselves to the Somme, which waters Picardy; the Armoricans, between the Seine, the Loire, and the ocean, formed a species of independent republic. There remained to the Romans only Belgic Gaul, where their general Syagrius affected royal power, when Clovis, son of king Childeric, at the age of nineteen, defeated Syagrius near Soissons, drove out the Romans, and, by that victory, strengthened the foundations of the French monarchy.

Year of J.C.
486.
Clovis victorious over the Romans.

His policy to win the affections of the Gauls.

His ambition, which was equal to his valour, soon inspired the design of increasing his power on every side, in which politics were no less serviceable to him than arms. The Gauls detested the Roman yoke, and were strongly attached to Christianity; he therefore won their affections by treating them with mildness, respecting their religion, and favouring their bishops. His marriage with Clotilda, niece of Gondebald, king of Burgundy, made them entertain hopes, that he would abjure idolatry for the Christian faith; to which he was gradually reconciled by the exhortations of that pious princess, and only objected

He marries Clotilda.

jected the attachment of the Franks to their worship. But having defeated the Alemains at Tolbiac, near Cologne, and attributing his victory to the God of Clotilda, whom he had invoked in that dangerous fight, he caused himself to be baptised by St. Remi, bishop of Reims, and the greater part of his countrymen followed his example. A successful and prudent chief easily persuaded those uncultivated minds. From this time he shewed great zeal for the true religion, which became extremely useful to his designs. The Armoricans voluntarily submitted. The title of Catholic made him beloved by the remains of the Gauls, because the Burgundians and Visigoths were Arians. But the Christianity and orthodoxy of the Franks may be estimated by their profound ignorance. All religion was almost reduced to words without ideas, or superstitious observances without virtues, of which we shall see but too many proofs. Gondebald, by murdering his brothers, and usurping their dominions, furnished the ambitious conqueror with a pretence for a war: accordingly Clovis, in conjunction with his brother-in-law Theodoric, the great king of Italy, undertook to dethrone him; and, without waiting for the Ostrogoths, actually stripped him of his dominions; part of which were ceded to Theodoric, agreeable to stipulation. But repenting that he had thus augmented the power of a neighbour more dangerous than Gondebald, he determined to restore the latter to his kingdom, and gave up the entire conquest. A more prudent politician would

496.
He turns
Christian
after the
battle of
Tolbiac.

Fruitless
war against
Gondebald,
king of Bur-
gundy.

would not have undertaken a war, from which he was to draw no profit.

Clovis attacks the king of the Visigoths, under pretence of religion.

Being resolved to seize the dominions of Alaric, king of the Visigoths, who possessed the countries between the Rhône and the Loire, Clovis covered his ambitious design under the mask of religion, and continually exclaimed against the horrid impiety of suffering Arians to reign in Gaul. Though Alaric was no persecutor, Clovis was favoured by the Catholic bishops of that country; and it may be observed, that, even at so early a period, the clergy had as great a share in the political revolutions among the barbarous nations, as they had at Rome and Constantinople. Clovis crowned the wishes of his party by the battle of Vouille, near Poitiers, in 507, where the king of the Visigoths was slain; after which the Franks seized upon several provinces, and Gondebald, his ally in this expedition, laid siege to the town of Arles.

Theodoric saves part of that kingdom.

Theodoric sent an army to the assistance of the Visigoths; for the attention of that great prince was necessarily roused by the dangers with which his countrymen were threatened. The united forces of Clovis and Gondebald were defeated, and Theodoric continued in possession of Provence, the Narbonnoise, and part of Aquitaine. He excelled all the kings of Europe in wisdom and power; but I have made the reader acquainted with him in another place, and must not use repetitions. (*Vid. Rom. Hist.*)

511.
Cruelties and death of Clovis.

Clovis dishonoured the latter part of his reign by atrocious acts of treachery and cruelty to his

own

own relations, whom he stripped of their possessions: at the same time he built churches and monasteries; doubtless, from a persuasion that the divine laws, like those of the Barbarians, admitted a pecuniary compensation for every crime. He died in 511, after a council of Orleans, to which he himself had sent the rules for the settlement of discipline.

One of the principal regulations was, that no layman, except the descendants of clerks, should enter into orders without the king's command, or permission from the judge. The same precautions had been taken by Constantine to prevent the body of the clergy from being made up of men necessary for the service of the state; but the privileges conferred upon that order attracted too great numbers, and the law was ill observed.

Regulation
for the ad-
mission of
clerks.

The dominions of Clovis were shared among his four sons, Thierry, Clodomir, Childebert, and Clotaire; and the monarchy was unhappily dismembered into four kingdoms: Austrasia or Metz, Orleans, Paris, and Soissons. This division infallibly produced civil wars. When the interests of the brothers were different, they became enemies. The most horrid acts of barbarity grew common. Sigismond, son of Gondobald, was massacred with his wife and children, by order of Clodomir; and thus ended a war between these two princes. After the death of Clodomir, two of his sons were stabbed by their uncle Clotaire, who united with Childebert to deprive them of their inheritance. The history of these times, filled with acts of cruelty and

The domi-
nions of
Clovis di-
vided among
his four
sons.

Their bar-
barities.

treachery, or stuffed with ridiculous fables, offers nothing interesting, except a picture of the ancient manners.

Theodobert,
a celebrated
king of Au-
strasia.

534.
Conquest of
the king-
dom of Bur-
gundy.

The French
treacherous
allies of the
Romans and
Ostrogoths.

Theodobert, son and successor of Thierry, king of Austrasia, distinguished himself by his superior abilities and great enterprises. He made himself respected by his uncles, who were tempted by their ambition to dethrone him; but afterwards united with them, in order to conquer the kingdom of Burgundy, which had been founded about a century before. This important acquisition was followed by an embassy from the emperor Justinian, inviting the kings of France to join in a league against the Ostrogoths. Amalasonte, the worthy daughter of Theodoric, had governed them with great prudence, in the name of her son Athalaric. Theodatus, successor of the last, had been dethroned for cowardice, during the expedition of Belisarius into Italy (for the Barbarians assumed the right of taking away, as well as of conferring, the crown, and were particularly desirous of having valiant kings). Vitiges, elected in the room of Theodatus, negociated with the French, who, though already in alliance with the emperor, without scruple accepted his offers and his money. Theodobert crossed the Alps with a numerous army, attacked the Ostrogoths and Romans indifferently, every where routed them with great slaughter, and returned into his own dominions. Such was the good faith of those warriors who were fond of rapine, and thought every thing lawful if their injustice was crowned with success.

Several

Several years after, an army belonging to Theodobert conquered Venetia, and part of Liguria, while, in 547, Totila revived the power of the Ostrogoths. But this conquest was fruitless, the French monarch dying before it could be firmly secured. Under kings like him, the monarchy of Clovis might have swallowed up the neighbouring states.

A second expedition into Italy.

Men destitute of the power of reflexion can reap no instruction from experience. The numerous misfortunes already occasioned by a division of the kingdom, did not prevent a like dismemberment, accompanied by the same calamities, from taking place after the death of Clotaire I., sole successor of his brethren and nephews. Caribert, Gontran, Sigebert, and Chilperic, his sons, shared his dominions by lot; and though the kingdom of Paris fell to Caribert, it was agreed, that all should have a common right to that city, which Clovis had made his capital, and that none of them should be permitted to enter it without the consent of the three others. So whimsical an agreement was a source of civil wars. Every thing concurred to enhance the misery of the nation.

562.
Division of the monarchy into four parts after the death of Clotaire I.

France was torn in pieces by the sanguinary ambition of two women, who rather deserved the epithet of furies than the title of queens. These were Brunehaut and Fredegonda: the one, a princess of Spain, had married Sigebert, king of Austrasia; the other, at first mistress of Chilperic, king of Soissons, had prevailed on him to espouse her after divorcing his wife. Their mutual hatred, and uncontroled influ-

Brunehaut and Fredegonda rival furies.

ence over their husbands, gave birth to numberless crimes, equally fatal to the people and the royal family. Sigebert was murdered by Fredegonda's emissaries, while he was besieging Chilperic in Tournay. A cruel stepmother, she afterwards sacrificed her husband's children by the first marriage. Brunehaut, on her part, breathing vengeance, armed the princes, and fanned the flames of civil war. But at last, falling into the hands of Clotaire, the son of Fredegonda, she was condemned to the most horrid torments, as guilty of the death of ten kings, or children of kings. Pope Gregory bestows encomiums on this princess, because she shewed herself zealous, and liberal to the church.

Gontran, king of Burgundy, too much commended by cotemporary historians.

Gontran, king of Orleans and Burgundy, who died in 593, had changed sides, as whim or conjunctures shifted: a pious, but ignorant prince, lavish to the church, and blindly submissive to the bishops; weakly yielding where firmness was necessary: violent and cruel where he ought to have used moderation; and too highly celebrated in our ancient annals, because their authors judged of every thing, even of virtue, by the prejudices of their age. This mild prince had sworn to put his physicians to death, if they did not cure the queen, who was dangerously ill. She died, and they were executed. Several other examples of the same kind are quoted, but Gontran's devotion apologised for every thing.

613.
Clotaire II.
sole king.

Clotaire II. son of Chilperic and Fredegonda, was sole king, after massacring a multitude of princes. He restored tranquillity, gained the hearts

hearts of his subjects, and secured the attachment of the great by increasing their power; he committed the government of Austrasia and Burgundy to the mayors of the palace, who, from that period, being constituted a kind of viceroys, and acquiring every day additional power, opened from far a path to the crown. These officers, who were judges in the palace, becoming the ministers of princes, and arbitrators of the government, soon acted as sovereigns under kings who had neither strength nor talents to reduce them to their duty.

Mayors of
the palace.

The royal authority was weakened, while it was disgraced, by the vices of Dagobert, son of Clotaire, and the impositions with which he loaded his people, either to supply his debaucheries, or, according to the custom of those times, to expiate their guilt by pious profusions. His two sons Sigebert II. and Clovis II. were incapable of every thing but building new convents, and employing their time in trifles. All affairs were transacted by the mayors; and after the death of those princes, Grimoald, mayor of Austrasia, ventured to set his own son upon the throne. The usurper was driven out, but the example of the usurpation prognosticated new attempts. And what barriers could be opposed to them by the name of the king, which was nothing but a name?

Their power
increased
under Dago-
bert and his
successors.

The mayor Ebroin having placed Thierry III. one of the sons of Clovis II. upon the throne of Austrasia, without consulting the nobility, they shaved that prince, and confined him in a cloister: but he was restored after the death of

Austrasia,
oppressed by
the mayor
Ebroin, de-
stroys regal
govern-
ment.

Duke Pepin,
its governor,
becomes
master of
the mo-
narchy.

his brother Childeric, who fell by assassins. Meantime Austrasia, being oppressed by Ebroin, revolted, and chose dukes or independent governors. Pepin Heristal, who was worthy of the public confidence, there exercised the supreme power, and Thierry, sole king of France, having provoked his resentment, was defeated and taken prisoner. Pepin, now master of the whole kingdom, under the title of Mayor, governed twenty-seven years with equal prudence and courage. The kings were at this time only ornamented phantoms, occasionally shewn to the people. The surname of *idle* expresses their weakness and stupid inactivity. By restoring the ancient assemblies of the nation, the use of which had been interrupted by the despotism of the mayors; particularly, by turning the impetuous fire of the French against foreign enemies, over whom he was always victorious; Pepin enjoyed a power hitherto unknown in the monarchy.

714.
Succeeded in
his whole
power by his
son Charles
Martel.

After the death of this great man, the authority fell into the hands of his widow Plectrude, whose grandson, still an infant, was mayor; for Pepin wanted to make an office which was equivalent to royalty, hereditary in his family. Charles Martel, his son by a concubine, was arrested on suspicion of being disaffected to the new government; but the nation soon grew weary of obeying a woman, and elected a mayor, named Rainfroy. Charles had made his escape to Austrasia, where the people received him as a deliverer; and Rainfroy, being desirous of bringing them under the yoke,

yoke, more than once felt, in conjunction with king Chilperic II. the invincible superiority of that hero. Charles Martel, after the example of his father, seized upon the whole authority, and was worthy of enjoying it. A wise and vigorous government, continual victories, in a word, the glory and prosperity of the state, were his best titles. Had it not been for him, France would have been subjected to the Mussulmen, who were already masters of Spain.

CHAP. II.

Saracens conquer Spain.—Defeated by Charles Martel in France.

OUR attention is here attracted by the history of Spain. From the time that the Visigoths had established their monarchy in that province, which had before been conquered from the Romans by the Vandals, their clergy were generally more absolute than their princes, who consequently, scarce deserve to be named. Almost all causes were brought by appeal before the bishops court, who frequently determined the affairs of the nation in the great council. In conjunction with the nobility, among whom they held the first rank, they even disposed of the crown, which was rather elective than hereditary. That kingdom was a theatre of revolutions and acts of guilt. The

State of the kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain.

Power of the clergy.

Frequent revolutions.

- number of kings murdered strikes us with horror. The Barbarians, after their establishment, contracted new vices, and their ferocity became more sanguinary. To what crimes must not even self-interest have prompted them? Let us only point out the principal reigns in which are found some memorable facts.
- Principal reigns.**
- Levigild.** Levigild, who died in 585, is celebrated for his victories over the Suevi, whose dominions he conquered; and his harsh treatment of his son Hermenigild, whom he persecuted to death, because he had embraced the catholic religion.
- Recaredo.** Yet his other son Recaredo, who succeeded him, abjured Arianism, and that sect was persecuted in its turn. The spirit of persecution prevailed more in Spain than any other country. In 612,
- Sisebut.** Sisebut obliged the Jews, under pain of death, to receive baptism; though he was a prudent prince in other respects, and by his valour, deprived the eastern emperors of their remaining possessions in that kingdom, on the coast of the Mediterranean.
- Chintila.** Chintila banished all the Jews; and it was decreed by a council, that no prince could ascend the throne till he had sworn to observe the laws enacted against that unhappy people: the inquisition seems already rising.
- Recesuinth.** Under Recesuinth, the election of kings was vested, by a decree of council, solely in the bishops and palatines (the palatines were the principal officers of the crown). By this regulation, the body of the nation lost one of its most valuable privileges.
- Wamba.** Wamba, after defeating the Saracens, who had invaded Spain, was poisoned by the ambitious Erwigo, and excluded

excluded from the throne in 682, because, in a fit of weakness, to which he had been reduced by a distemper, he was clothed in the habit of a penitent: an odious attempt, the first of its kind, and which gave a distant prognostic of the clergy's future enterprises. Erwigo was confirmed in the sovereignty by a council. In another, held during his reign, kings were forbidden to marry the widows of kings, under pain of damnation. From this single canon, we may judge of the spirit of the legislation. In 710, a civil war was raised by the cruelties and disorders of Witiza, who permitted clerks to marry, and laymen to keep as many concubines as they pleased. That prince was dethroned by Roderic or Roderigo, who was himself dethroned by a people at that time restless.

Erwigo.

Witiza.

Roderic.

At the conclusion of the Roman history, we gave an account of the establishment of Mahometism; a religion which roused the spirit of conquest by fanaticism, and strengthened the spirit of fanaticism by conquest. Mahomet, its author, died in 633, and soon after the empire of the Arabians, or Saracens, extended over immense countries in Asia and Africa. The Koran, supported by their arms, seemed ready to stretch its empire over the whole world.

Progress of
Mahomet-
ism.

It is said, that Count Julian, enraged at Roderic having dishonoured his daughter, invited them himself to invade the kingdom of Spain. But this fact is not authenticated by ancient monuments. After all, it would only be one example more of the revolutions occasioned

The Sara-
cens, or
Moors, con-
quer Spain.

712.
Battle of
Xeres,

Treaty of
Oppas.

Pelagio takes
refuge in the
Asturias,

732.
Charles
Martel de-
feats the
Moors, who
attempted to
conquer
France.

sioned by the vices of princes. The Saracens, at that time masters of Mauritania, whence they have got the name of Moors, poured into Spain, and in 712 gained the decisive battle of Xeres, in Andalusia, after which, the king of the Visigoths for ever disappeared. Moussa, who commanded in Africa, as viceroy for the Calif Walid, immediately came into that country to complete the conquest. According to the prudent policy of his sect, he offered to grant the inhabitants the exercise of their religion and their laws, contenting himself with the same tribute which they paid to their sovereigns. The greatest part of the towns voluntarily admitted him: the others he plundered and burned. Oppas, archbishop of Seville, uncle of Witiza's children, was not ashamed to fight for the Mussulmen, and sacrifice his country and religion to his hatred against Roderic. But Pelagio, a hero of the blood royal, retired into the mountains of the Asturias and Burgos, followed by a multitude of Christians, and there founded a little kingdom, where he maintained himself by his valour. After his death, Alphonso, his son-in-law, mounted the throne, and enlarged his territories, by taking advantage of the civil wars which soon divided the conquerors.

Meantime, their ambition scorning to be restrained within the limits of the Pyrennées, they attacked Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, a descendant from the family of Clovis, though at first without success. But Abderaman, the new emir or governor of Spain, made a second invasion

vasion with superior forces, and penetrated as far as Sens; but being repulsed by the bishop Ebbo, he poured with his forces into Aquitaine, defeated the duke, and advanced to the heart of the kingdom. Charles Martel was destined to stop the course of that torrent. France owed its preservation to a bloody battle fought between Poitiers and Tours, in which Abderaman was slain, and the Saracens are said to have lost upwards of three hundred thousand men. But such exaggerations do not deserve a place in history. The enemy, notwithstanding their defeat, kept a footing for some years in Provence and Languedoc, whence they were at last driven by the hero of France.

Spain was, at first, unhappy under the domination of the Moors. The emirs being dependants on the viceroys of Africa, who suffered them to continue but a short time in office, were more eager to exhaust the provinces, than to make justice and good order flourish in them. The civil wars were kindled; and not only were the Califs, whose court was at Damascus, at too great a distance to appease the disturbances, but the enterprises of the factious were favoured by the troubles excited by the Califate itself. In the year 750, this great dignity, in which the royal and sacerdotal honours were united, was transferred from the house of Mooawigah to that of Abbas. The revolution was bloody, and produced another truly advantageous to Spain, which it delivered from oppression.

Prince Abderaman, who is likewise named Almanzor, having escaped from the massacre of

Spain at first
unhappy
under their
dominion.

750.
Revolution
in the Cali-
fate.

Kingdom of
the Moors
in Spain,

founded by
Abderaman
or Alman-
zor.

Glorious
reign of that
prince.

of his family, came and laid the foundations of an independent kingdom in that country. Being proclaimed king after a victory, he subdued all the provinces, except what Pelagio and Alphonso had conquered or preserved. He fixed his residence at Cordova, which he made the seat of the arts, magnificence, and pleasure. Without persecuting the Christians, he unhappily found means almost totally to extirpate christianity, by depriving them of bishops, reserving favours and dignities for the followers of Mahomet, or by intermarriages. No prince in Europe equalled him in politics, as no people equalled the Arabians in whatever did honour to the human understanding. Though formerly enemies of reason and the sciences, they had learnt to cultivate them, and succeeded in several branches, while other nations were degraded by barbarous ignorance. But this is not the place to treat such a subject at length.

We have anticipated a little upon the order of time, that we might not mix dissimilar subjects: a different method would confound our ideas, and tire the memory.

Charles
Martel suf-
fers the
throne to
continue
vacant.

After the defeat of the Saracens, Charles Martel, equally politic and brave, and more powerful with the plain title of mayor than any king in Europe, continually increased the glory of the French name. The throne becoming vacant in 737, by the death of Thierry IV., he exercised the sovereign authority with the title of duke; not deigning to make a king, nor affecting a name which would have added nothing to his power. He had restored Aquitaine

taine to Harald, son of Eudes, reserving to himself and posterity the rights of sovereignty, and was preparing to pass into Italy, whither pope Gregory III. invited him from motives of policy, offering to acknowledge him consul of Rome; but he died in 741, before he put that scheme in execution. He had appointed Carloman, one of his sons, to succeed him in Austrasia; and to the other, Pepin the Short, he bequeathed Neustria, or western France and Burgundy. The memory of Charles has been blackened by ecclesiastical authors, who could not pardon this great man for having granted to the nobles the usufruct of several church lands, to enable them to perform their military services. How could they forget that, by his arms, both the church and kingdom had been preserved from the Mahometan yoke? We shall soon have an opportunity to examine the motives of their animosity.

Carloman turned monk, after having signalled his courage in Germany; and his retreat threw the whole power into the hands of Pepin, who aspired to the throne, though he had caused a Childeric II. to be proclaimed; but this prince is not so much as named in the annals of those times. The pope, who wanted his assistance against the Greek emperor and the Lombards, artfully seconded his ambitious views. We are now arrived at the proper period for taking a review of Italy, Rome, and Constantinople, whose situation at this juncture gave rise to very important events.

741.
He dies, and leaves the monarchy to his two sons.

The memory of Charles blackened by the clergy.

Carloman turns monk, and leaves his brother Pepin sole master.

C H A P. III.

State of the Kingdom of the Lombards and Constantinopolitan Empire.—Intrigues of the Popes.—Family of Clovis dethroned by Pepin.

State of the kingdom of the Lombards after Alboinus.

Autharic turns Christian; his wife governs.

WE have seen Alboinus found the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, soon after Justinian's generals had broken the Gothic power in that country. This new dominion was aggrandized by the arms, and secured by the wisdom, of several princes. Autharic, their third king, restored happiness to his subjects, after they had been dreadfully convulsed by ten years of anarchy. By the influence of his wife Theodolinda, a princess of Bavaria, he was converted to Christianity, but, like most of the Barbarians, embraced the Arian sect: the Lombards conformed to the tenets of their prince, yet the Catholics enjoyed entire liberty, and the throne seemed still to be filled by the great Theodoric. It is surprising that St. Gregory should, notwithstanding, affirm, that God shortened the days of the cursed Autharic (*nefandissimus*) because he prohibited the Lombard children from being baptised in the Catholic religion. Might he not, on the contrary, have been commended for suffering the Catholics to enjoy their religion in peace? But zeal, especially in ages of ignorance, paints some objects

jects in far different colours from those in which they are seen by an impartial spectator.

Agilulf, Autharic's successor, a courageous prince, attempted the conquest of Rome; but Gregory, by his negotiations and presents, saved the city. Theodolinda had married Agilulf, and, carrying on a correspondence with the pope, inspired her second husband with sentiments of orthodoxy, which she could never prevail upon the first to adopt. Through almost all Europe we see the queens changing the ruling religion, and serving as apostles in the courts. Their sex rendered them most susceptible of lively impressions of the Christian faith, and best fitted for communicating them by sentiment.

Agilulf attempts the conquest of Rome.

Converted to the catholic religion by his wife.

Rothar eclipsed the glory of his predecessors, by giving the Lombards written laws, which were established in a general assembly in 643. He professed Arianism, but with such moderation, that in most cities there were two bishops, one Arian, the other Catholic; an example of toleration no where to be equalled at that period.

Rothar legislator of his kingdom.

Under Luitprand, whose reign began in 712, the nation submitted to the Catholic doctrines. This prince's wisdom is particularly manifested by one of his laws, where he blames the ridiculous custom of duels, *by which, says he, it is endeavoured to force the Deity to discover the truth at the pleasure of human caprice*: adding, that he tolerated the abuse, *because the Lombards were too much attached to them*. Among the Barbarians, almost all causes were decided by duels.

Luitprand.

His law concerning duels.

Luitprand,

The Greek empire weakened every day, though the Saracens were subjected to a tribute.

The princes and people blinded by superstition.

Luitprand, active, prudent, and courageous, desired to connect his own grandeur with the good of his subjects; an opportunity for which was furnished by the weakness of the Constantinopolitan empire, and the pernicious conduct of that court. The superstitious ideas of the Greeks always influenced their public affairs. Constantinople had been several times besieged by the Saracens; but their fleets being consumed by the wild fire which burned under water (an invention of the engineer Callinicus), they had been reduced, under the reign of Constantine-Pogonatus, to conclude a truce of thirty years, during which they were to pay a tribute. The sixth general council, held in 680, by condemning the errors of monothelism, seemed to bid fair for putting an end to religious quarrels. This was a double advantage for the Greeks, could they have profited by it; but nothing could cure the nation of its prejudices and bigotry. One party wanted to crown the two brothers of Constantine-Pogonatus, because *there ought to be three emperors, as there are three persons in the Trinity*. The people reasoned and acted in a manner altogether incomprehensible. This ridiculous spirit prevailed under Justinian II., who imprudently broke the truce with the Saracens; under Philip Bardanes, who revived monothelism, and condemned the sixth council; under Anastasius II. and Theodosius III., who both turned monks; and lastly, under Leo the Isaurian, who, by a new heresy, kindled fresh troubles more fatal to the empire than the preceding.

In

In 727, Leo proscribed the worship of images; a worship pious and useful in itself, but grossly abused by the blind credulity of the people, and which that very credulity would necessarily prompt them to defend with enthusiasm. Instead of pointing out the abuses to the people, they were deprived of the objects of their veneration and confidence. The paintings were defaced, and the statues were broken, after it had in vain been forbidden to pay them honours. Seditions and revolts became universal; the vulgar attached religion to those sensible objects, by supposing them always possessed of some miraculous virtue. The greatest part of the priests, especially the monks, being interested in their preservation, abandoned themselves to a zeal equally turbulent and contagious. Constantine-Copronymus, son of Leo, exceeded the violences of his father, and met with invincible resistance, which by persecution was changed into madness. The Iconoclasts (*breakers of images*) were looked upon with horror by the multitude. The Arians, who attacked the divinity of Jesus Christ, had not been more odious to the Catholics.

Herefy of
the Icono-
clasts under
Leo the
Isaurian,

stirs up
seditions.

“What made the quarrel on the subject of
“images so fierce,” says Montesquieu, “was its
“connexion with things of a very delicate
“nature: power was at stake; and the monks
“having usurped it, they could neither increase
“nor support it, except by making continual
“additions to the ceremonial, of which they
“themselves constituted a part. For this reason
“they always looked upon the war against
Vol. I. G “images

The monks
stirred up
the people
to revolt.

“ images as actually made against themselves,
 “ and, when once they had carried this point,
 “ their power was boundless.” (*Grand. and
 Dec. of Rom.* ch. xxii.) It is true, that the Eastern
 monks, who in general were seditious and
 fanatics, fanned the fire of rebellion: their
 false zeal was evidently excited by interest more
 than any other motive; but from what madness
 did the emperors always furnish fuel for the
 conflagration?

The fer-
 ment equal-
 ly great in
 Italy.

Luitprand
 takes Ra-
 venna and
 several other
 towns.

The Italians were not the least zealous de-
 fenders of images, and openly rebelled against
 the edicts. Rome, Naples, and the other cities
 dependent on the empire, began to look upon
 their sovereign only as an abominable heretic.
 Ravenna, capital of the Exarchate, became a
 theatre of disturbances and insurrections. Luit-
 prand, dexterously taking advantage of the con-
 junctures, besieged that city, and made himself
 master of it in 728; after which he took a
 number of other places, and was on the point
 of subduing the rest of Italy. The anathemas
 thundered against the Iconoclasts made the
 people ready to shake off the yoke of Constan-
 tinople. Pentapolis, in the neighbourhood of
 Ravenna, under which were comprehended the
 towns of Pesaro, Rimini, Fano, Ancona, and
 Uniena, had declared that the cause of the pope
 was the cause of the province, and that, the
 Exarch and his adherents being excommuni-
 cated, the states should proceed to the election
 of Catholic governors. In a word, the people
 seemed already fully resolved to create a chief,
 that is, an emperor.

Though Rome was governed by dukes who depended on the Exarchs of Ravenna, the principal authority was vested in the popes; for which they were less indebted to their great riches, than to the respect for their See inspired by religion, and the confidence reposed in them by the people. St. Gregory had negotiated and treated with the princes in several affairs of state, and his successors divided their cares between the concerns of their bishopric and those of politics. Could it be otherwise, when the spiritual duties were joined to secular interests? The popes were equally concerned to free themselves from the dominion of the emperors, and oppose the enterprises of the kings of Italy; they therefore took every method to gain these two points: they employed artifice and religion, and by those means acquired sovereign power. Of all human works, this is perhaps the most worthy of attentive curiosity, whether we consider its nature, its progress, or its amazing consequences.

The popes
already very
powerful at
Rome,

and em-
ployed in
politics.

Gregory II., dreading above all things a neighbour like Luitprand, declared in favour of the emperor Leo, and called upon the Venetians for assistance. That republic, which in some measure owed its birth to the panic raised by Attila, was grown considerable from the courage and industry of its inhabitants. The Lombards were driven out of Ravenna; yet Leo appearing no less zealous against images, nor less exasperated against the pontiff than before, his violent behaviour determined the Romans to revolt, and they acknowledged the

Gregory II.
causes the
Lombards
to be driven
out of Ra-
venna.

Gregory
III. and
Zachary
pursue the
same views.

Death of
Luitprand.

Rathis his
successor
turns monk,
after an
interview
with the
pope.

750.
Decision of
Zachary in
favour of
Pepin, who
desires to be
king.

pope for their sole head. Gregory II., always an enemy of the Lombards, strove to draw upon them the arms of Charles Martel, who was their ally; but the negociation did not succeed. It was renewed by Gregory III., who made more advantageous offers, and at last won over the hero; but the execution of the enterprise was suspended by the death of Charles. Luitprand yielded to the instances of the new pope Zachary, and even restored to him four towns of the duchy of Rome which he had seized. In 744 this prince ended in peace a reign equally long and glorious.

His successor Rathis suffered himself again to be disarmed by the pope at the siege of Perugia. Such was the influence of the pontifical dignity, that, after an interview with Zachary, that prince not only raised the siege, but gave himself up entirely to religious impressions, and even put on the monkish habit. Meantime Zachary's situation between the Greeks and the Lombards was still alarming and dangerous. He therefore thought, as his predecessors had done, of securing to himself the assistance of France, and supplying by policy those resources which his strength denied him: his hopes were confirmed by setting in motion the springs of religion.

In these conjunctures the ambitious Pepin, who unquestionably was acquainted with the pope's inclinations, proposed to him a case of conscience, which none had yet thought of submitting to the decision of Rome. The question was, who ought to bear the title of king,

king, a prince incapable of governing, or a minister vested with the royal authority, which he exercised with honour? Zachary decided in favour of the subject against the lawful prince. The clergy favoured Pepin because he restored to them part of the lands which had been taken from them by Charles Martel. His power and abilities made him respected by the nobility; and the nation despised inactive, obscure kings, who were scarce known even by name. Thus the judgment of the pope removed every scruple. King Childeric was shaved, that is, degraded, and shut up in a monastery, together with his son; Pepin was raised to the throne, and solemnly anointed at Soissons by St. Boniface, bishop of Mentz, the famous missionary of the Germans, and one of his most useful adherents.

Pepin de-
thrones
Childeric.

By this ceremony of unction, borrowed from the Jews, and till that time unknown to the French nation, a character of divinity seemed to be impressed on the person of the monarch. But as ignorance abuses every thing, we shall find the bishops soon imagine, that by performing the ceremony of inauguration they conferred the royal dignity; an opinion productive of the most dangerous consequences. The emperors had for a long time caused themselves to be crowned by the patriarchs of Constantinople; in the sequel of this history, we shall in like manner see the popes crown the emperors of the West. The coronation and unction will be supposed necessary to the sovereign power, and on a pious ceremony

Ceremony
of unction,
which was
afterwards
abused.

the clergy build a right of disposing of kingdoms. It is proper to foresee events from their origin.

752.
Bold nego-
ciation of
Stephen
III. with
Pepin.

In a word, the political conduct of the popes was crowned with success: the new king of France repaid their favours with usury. Aistulf, or Aistolpho, successor of Ratchis, seized Ravenna, the whole Exarchate, with Pentapolis, and threatened the duchy of Rome. Zachary was now dead. Stephen III *. in vain demanded assistance from Constantine Copronymus, whose attention was entirely engrossed with extirpating the worship of images. This emperor employed him to negotiate with Aistulf, or, if he found him untractable, to address himself to the king of France. Stephen therefore set out, and arrived in that country, where, after repeating the ceremony of Pepin's inauguration, he created him and his sons patricians of Rome; a title to which royalty is attached. In recompence, he obtained for the church of Rome a donation of the Exarchate with Pentapolis. "This is one of those facts," says an estimable author, "of which we meet with few examples in history. An ambassador employed to negotiate with a foreign prince for the preservation of part of his master's dominions, divides the territory in question into two portions, and sells the one to this foreign

* Zachary had for his immediate successor another Stephen, who died in three days after his election, before he was consecrated. By some authors he is not reckoned among the popes, and they give the name of Stephen II. to him mentioned in the text.

" prince,

“ prince, on condition of receiving the other
 “ himself when it shall be conquered.” (*Abregé
 de l'Hist. d'Italie.*) But it must be acknowledg-
 ed, that the primary fault was the emperor's a-
 bandoning the Romans.

Pepin, without delay, passed the Alps, and
 Aistulf sued for peace, which was granted; but
 as soon as the French were withdrawn, he broke
 the treaty, and laid siege to Rome. On this
 occasion, Stephen wrote to his protector that
 famous letter, in the name of St. Peter, where,
 with no small dexterity, he confounds all ideas,
 the sacred with the profane, the wealth with
 the essence of the church, the interest of souls
 with the prosperity of the pastors; and where,
 in recompence for carrying on a political war,
 he promises happiness in this world and the
 next, not without threats of damnation in case
 succours were denied. An artful language,
 which became but too common. To give to
 the church was giving to God, or to St. Peter;
 to dispute any thing with the church, was at-
 tacking God, attacking St. Peter. Credulity
 and superstition lent such strength to sophisms
 of this kind, that they destroyed the natural
 order of society.

Pepin soon made his appearance again in
 Italy, when the emperor offered to defray the
 expences of the war, provided the last con-
 quests of the Lombards were restored to the
 empire: but his answer was, that he had made
 a donation of those lands to St. Peter, and
 would not revoke it for all the gold in the
 world. Aistulf, who was besieged in Pavia,

Artful let-
 ter from the
 pope to en-
 gage Pepin
 in a war
 against the
 Lombards.

755.
 Pepin gives
 the pope se-
 veral towns
 which Ais-
 tulf had
 seized.

He reserves
the sove-
reignty in
quality of
patrician.

his capital, submitted to the terms prescribed him, and Pepin put the pope in possession of Ravenna, Classe, Cesarea, Rimini, Fano, Pesaro, Cesena, Sinigaglia, Comacchio, Urbino, Forli, &c. reserving the right of feignory over that state, in quality of Roman patrician. Naples, which was governed by a duke, Gaeta, with the greatest part of Calabria, the country of the Brutians, and some maritime towns, remained under the dominion of the emperor. Thus did the See of Rome profit at his expence, by the quarrel raised concerning the worship of images.

763.
Death of
Pepin.

After an uninterrupted series of victories, after subjecting the Saxons and Sclavonians to tribute, obliging the duke of Bavaria to take an oath of fidelity, and reuniting Aquitaine to the crown, Pepin died in the year 763, and the seventeenth of his reign, equally respected at home and abroad. He had never aimed at too absolute power, but referred all affairs of importance to the assemblies of the nation, whose oracle he was from his prudence. By consent of the nobility, he had divided his dominions between his two sons, Charles and Carloman, the first of whom forms a great epocha in history. Let us stop a few moments to consider the state of Europe.



CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

General Observations.

I.

THE ancient Gauls, Germans, Britons, Scandinavians, and, in general, all the Celtic nations which overspread Europe (for they are supposed, with great probability, to be of Celtic origin), nearly resembled each other in the fundamentals of their government, manners, and opinions. This conformity is visible in all the states founded by the Barbarians, who dismembered the vast empire of the Romans. Liberty and war were their ruling passions. From a persuasion that force gives every right, and that victory is a certain proof of justice, their ambition for conquering and spoiling their enemies, that is, those whom they attacked, was equalled by their aversion from submitting to the despotic will of a single person. Even in subjection they maintained their freedom. Their primitive government was a kind of military democracy, under a general who had commonly the title of king. It was impossible, that this dignity could be hereditary among people whose views extended no farther than the present moment, and who wanted a chief capable of heading his army, and making himself obeyed. If found destitute of those qualities,

All the Barbarians who settled in the empire resembled each other.

Their first government a military democracy.

Their kings
were their
generals.

ties, they in a short time deprived him of that power which they had conferred. When a warrior distinguished himself by eminent abilities, several others attached themselves to him, and mutually engaged to fight in defence of one another. Each made it a duty to die for his chief, and it was reckoned cowardice to survive him. These associations seem to have been the embryo of the feudal government.

National
assemblies,

All affairs of importance were debated in the national assemblies, in which those warriors, with arms in their hands, sensible of their own strength, and impatient of controul, yielded only to the conviction that the measures proposed were of real utility. In France, this assembly was first called the *Field of March*, because it was held in an open field, in the month of March; it was afterwards named the *Field of May*, because, when the use of cavalry became common, Pepin transferred it to the time when forage could be easily procured. Another, but less considerable, was held in autumn. The tribes, in process of time, growing into nations, these assemblies necessarily took another form.

After their
settlement,
the democ-
racy chang-
ed into ari-
stocracy.

When the Barbarians gained fixed settlements, the democracy was soon changed into a military aristocracy. The grandees, possessed of riches and large domains, had in their hands every means of reducing the lower rank to a state of dependence. They engrossed to themselves the power which the body of the nation had formerly enjoyed. The common people were neglected and despised: the affairs of state were regulated

regulated by the king and nobility. Yet in France, under the monarchs of the first and second race, the people or freemen shared, at least virtually, in the legislative power: according to the language of the capitularies, the laws were made *by the consent of the people*. But it seems more than probable, that this consent became a mere formality. Would the mayors of the palace have dared, or could they have had power to suppress the national assemblies, had not the fundamentals of the ancient constitution been already shaken?

Legislative powers in the hands of the people.

As all authority tends to its own aggrandisement, that of the kings, especially in France, quickly gained ground. This was an effect of their conquests and peculiar circumstances. On one side, the vanquished nations, accustomed to the yoke of the emperors, and trained to continual obedience by christianity, entertained principles highly favourable to the authority of princes, and by mixing with the conquerors, naturally gained an influence over their opinions, especially when both embraced the same religion, and the bishops, who were all Romans, had great authority over the sentiments and inclinations of the people. On the other side, the kings, being in possession of vast domains, bestowed some portions of them, under the name of *Benefices*, on the great lords, whom they were desirous of attaching to their interest, and withdrew them at their pleasure. Thus did hope and fear, the great movers of the human heart, second their political views. Some kings, for instance, Chilperic I. even exercised a kind

How the royal power increased, especially in France.

Benefices.

Succession
to the
crown.

a kind of violent despotism. Besides, the French still continued the crown in the family of Clovis, though without rigorously adhering to an order of succession in favour of the elders, or the nearest heirs; which was of the greatest advantage to that family. Had the Merovingians (the name given to the first race) supported their dignity by their merit; had that line produced Pepins and Charles Martels, they would doubtless have become powerful monarchs, instead of sinking into dependence on the mayors. In prudent and vigorous hands, authority increases for the public weal. A succession of three great men raised the empire of Charlemagne, while, through the folly of the *idle kings*, the grand building erected by Clovis crumbled into dust.

The laws of
the Barbari-
ans too
gentle.
The reason.

The laws take an impression from the genius of the people: those are gentle in proportion as these are free, for excessive liberty never submits to a painful yoke. Treason and cowardice were commonly the only crimes for which there was no pardon. As the public inflicted no punishment for murder, it was left to private persons, who revenged their own quarrel, or that of their relations, though they sometimes accepted a composition from the offender. These northern nations being always at war, were peculiarly tender of the lives of their members. We must not, therefore, be surprised, if they substituted pecuniary fines instead of capital punishments.

Duels in
failure of
judicial
proofs, and
why.

Nor ought it to be matter of wonder, that they established the practice of duels in failure
of

of judicial evidence. This was an effect of the received opinion, that victory was a proof of justice; according to their system and their language, it was the *judgment of God*; among Barbarians, it was the shortest method of putting an end to differences; it served as fuel to that martial courage, which they looked upon as the first of all virtues, and was sometimes a preservative against the abuse of oaths. Gondebald, king of the Burgundians, who, more than any other prince, authorised this custom, gives that as a reason in his law: *that our subjects may not from henceforth make oath on obscure matters, nor perjure themselves when facts are clear.* "Thus," says Montesquieu, "while the clergy declared the law which permitted duels to be impious, the law of the Burgundians looked upon that which authorised the taking of an oath, as sacrilegious." An observation true in one sense, though generally false; for the Burgundians sometimes admitted the oaths, even of children, as evidence. But after all, the folly of judicial combat continued to be no less inseparably interwoven with the principles of the Germanic nations.

The observations now made on duels, are applicable to the extravagant methods of exculpation allowed by the courts of justice. They had been first established by opinion, and opinion long supported them. From the earliest ages, a miraculous virtue was ascribed to the elements, on a supposition that they were animated by some intelligent power, which incessantly directed their action, and made them necessary

Authorised
by Gonde-
bald, as a
preventive
of perjury,

Absurdity of
the judicial
trials found-
ed on opi-
nion.

cessarily subservient to the triumph of equity. The people were persuaded, that fire would not burn the innocent, and that water would not drown the guilty. The one, therefore, might, without danger, handle a red hot piece of iron, or dip his hands in boiling water: the other would necessarily float in a vessel of water, into which he was plunged with his hands and feet tied. Such were the principal trials which, in some countries, went by the name of *ordeals*.

Maintained
by superstition,
after
the estab-
lishment of
Christiani-
ty.

Christianity could not destroy them, because the Barbarians made it bend to their prejudices, rather than subject their prejudices to its principles. Superstition sought in our sacred books for texts to authorise a practice repugnant to common sense, and imagined it found them: hence these trials became religious ceremonies, which the clergy were interested to support; as, not to mention other advantages, they were by these means evidently made arbiters in many important causes. The cross, holy water, and even the eucharist, were converted into *ordeals*. Priests, monks, and sometimes laymen, accused of crimes, cleared themselves by taking the communion, and this flagrant abuse was authorised by councils.

Trial by
peers.

An essential point of public justice was, in the first ages, the trial by *peers*, or equals. In France, there were *hundreds* subdivided into *decennaries*; that is, a kind of districts, consisting, at least, of a hundred families, and comprehending other smaller districts. The chiefs of the *hundreds*, or *decennaries*, tried petty causes. In each province, the *Count* was the regular

Order of
jurisdiction.

regular judge. He took for his assessors, sheriffs (*Scabini*) elected from the people, and commonly of the best families. The king reserved to himself the privilege of judging the bishops, abbots, and nobility. The *peerage*, properly so called, a dignity attached to the great fiefs of the French nation, did not take its rise till these became hereditary.

II.

The Christian religion would unquestionably have changed the Barbarians into other men, if it had not been in a short time infected with superstitions equally absurd and pernicious. Its beneficent and divine morality was in a manner covered with a thick rust, which suffered no part of it to be seen. This was another unavoidable effect of circumstances. Formerly, the Druids had an absolute dominion over the Gauls; nor had the German priests less authority, and the change of religion only rivetted the chains of the priesthood on these nations. Unhappily, the clergy were neither well enough informed to guide the people right, nor had they virtue sufficient to abstain from abusing their power. Can it be supposed, without a miracle, that they could resist the torrent of national manners, especially when Barbarians were promoted to the episcopal dignity, and brought with them their vices and their ignorance? Every thing then naturally degenerated. The purity of Christianity was already corrupted by great

Religion
necessarily
corrupted
among the
Barbarians.

Enriching
the church
thought the
way to sal-
vation.

great abuses, which daily increased, and produced others still more flagrant.

Complaints
of Clovis
and Chilpe-
ric on that
subject.

The Christian emperors had enriched the church, bestowed on her privileges and immunities with a lavish hand; and these seducing emoluments had not a little contributed to the relaxation of discipline, and the introduction of disorders, which, though not all equally visible, all contributed to corrupt the spirit of the holy ministry. Under the government of the Barbarians, the mischief increased with amazing rapidity. As they were persuaded, that all crimes might be compensated by a sum of money, and that heaven was gained by donations to the church, the more that men abandoned themselves to brutal passions, the more profuse were they in these pretended works of piety. "They seemed to believe," says the Abbé Mably, "that avarice was the primary attribute of the Deity, and that the saints made a traffic of their interest and protection: which gave occasion to the pleasantry of Clovis, that *St. Martin did his friends good service, but made them pay him too dear for his trouble.*" (Observ. on Hist. of France, cap. 4.) This expression of Clovis makes his piety somewhat suspicious. History mentions the complaints of his grandson Chilperic, on the same subject, who frequently said: *Our exchequer is poor; our wealth is got into the hands of the church; the bishops are the real kings.* Though Chilperic be described as a man destitute of all sense of religion, his complaints were not without foundation.

In

In fact, the bishops having risen to the rank of nobility by the acquisition of demesnes, and joining the power of wealth to the influence of religion, were frequently arbiters of the state. In Spain, France, and other countries, they disposed of the throne, and dictated to the legislative power. They digested the laws, and every moment extended their prerogatives: nor was it possible things should be otherwise. Their advice was necessary, for knowledge of every kind was confined to the clergy; their opinions were decisive; they ordinarily spoke in the name of God, and they were only men.

Excessive
power of the
bishops.

The interests of the laymen being inconsistent with theirs, this contrariety was a new source of disorders. The clergy employed artifice against antagonists who were superior in strength; fables were invented to terrify and enslave them; spiritual arms were employed for the defence of temporal possessions; the soft voice of charity was changed into frightful anathemas, and religion seemed to breathe only terror. Even the councils were frequently less attentive to discipline, than to the establishment or preservation of lucrative privileges. To all these helps they added the power of the sword. Prelates, through inclination and habit, took up the trade of war, and fought not only in defence of their own domains, but sometimes to usurp others, and frequently rebelled against their sovereign. History furnishes numerous examples of such offensive conduct. The violences committed by the laymen were undoubtedly the primary cause; but the enmity which sprung

Quarrels be-
tween the
clergy and
laity, with
their effects.

up between the two orders is itself sufficient proof, that the abuses were flagrant and deeply rooted.

The bishops
become formidable
even to the
sovereigns.

When a numerous order of citizens is exempted from bearing the common offices, and freed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals; when it becomes the dictator of opinion, claims its privileges by divine right, and is favoured by the joint aid of superstition and ignorance, there is no bar to its enterprises, if actuated by ambition and self-interest. The episcopal power rose to such a height, that even the imperious and cruel Chilperic, having charged Pretextatus of Rouen with a conspiracy against his life, threw himself at the feet of the other bishops, intreating them to punish him. This authority of the prelates, in some circumstances, was a check to criminal actions, and then was really useful; but as, in the natural course of human affairs, its exercise was vitiated by motives of self-interest, it frequently became very dangerous.

Dangerous
increase of
the monks
in the east.

The excessive multiplication of monastic institutions had considerable influence on the state of societies. From time immemorial, great numbers of men, in the eastern countries, had devoted themselves to a solitary and contemplative life; a fondness for which was easily inspired by the heat of the climate, and the warmth of imagination. The example had been set to Christians by the Therapeutæ and Essenians among the Jews; and they followed it with the more ardour, as their religion was more calculated to detach them from the things
of

of this world. Egypt, in particular, was in a manner peopled with monks. In the fourth century, the single city of Oxyrinchus, in Thebais, reckoned twenty thousand, besides ten thousand nuns; it contained more monasteries than private houses. Yet few persons are called by providence to a state so repugnant to the natural order of society, and which requires virtues superior to human strength. Licentiousness and disorder consequently crept into the cloisters. The East was over-run by an infinite number of vagabond fanatical and seditious monks, who disturbed the church and shook the throne. In 736, the emperor Valens enacted a law, obliging them to serve in the armies, which was the only method he could contrive for reducing them to obedience. Such laws are never executed, and the remedy only increases the evil. The rule of St. Basil seemed an edifying reformation, but was confined within the walls of a few monasteries; nor did it prevent the monks, who had now got the bishoprics into their hands, from acting the principal part in theological dissensions.

Rule of St.
Basil.

The monks were already known in the West, where they had begun to establish themselves about the beginning of the sixth century, when St. Benedict founded his order in Italy. The celebrated Cassiodorus, at the age of seventy, quitted the court to embrace the new rule. The great Totila made it more respectable by the honours he paid to its founder. The virtues of the rising order, where the fervour of devotion was kept up by manual labour, drew to it pro-

The monks
established
in the West.

St. Benedict.

felytes by thousands. Princes and noblemen embraced the devout life of the cloister, as the readiest path to heaven; and this kind of devotion spread with all the fire of enthusiasm.

Foundations
of monaste-
ries,

To found monasteries at great expence, in the city and country, and to enrich them by offerings and donations, was reckoned one of the principal duties of Christianity among the Barbarians. The monks acquired a large property in land, great part of which they cultivated, and thus were, at least, some advantage to the countries they inhabited. But becoming too rich and numerous, they, by insensible degrees, lost sight of their primitive holiness: like the secular clergy, they became rapacious, vain, and ambitious, applied themselves to war, and rose to nobility; they contracted the vices of the age, and the asylum of religious austerity was converted into a source of offence to Christians. Laziness, wretched poverty, public calamities, a momentary fit of devotion, or the caprice of parents, were generally the motives for embracing this course of life. But could they put off their dispositions by changing their habit? The effect of all this was, that the state lost a number of subjects, and gained but few edifying examples. Men were always dazzled with the beginnings, and never inclined to look forward to the consequences, though the experience of the past gave evident tokens of the future: but nations are governed by prejudice and custom.

Vice creeps
into them,
and why.

Immunities
of the
monks ad-
vantageous
to the popes.

The monks were at first subject to the bishops, but they soon obtained exemptions contrary

trary to the common right, a grant of which was solicited from the popes. Queen Brunehaut, for example, requested that favour of St. Gregory, in behalf of the monasteries which she had founded. The popes derived a double advantage from these grants; they augmented their authority over the bishops, and united the monastic bodies more closely to their interest. But hence arose a number of inconveniences; discipline was greatly relaxed, the bishops and monks became rivals, and the latter too strictly devoted to the papal court. They were, in fact, so many missionaries of the popes; implicit obedience to whose commands they inculcated in their sermons as a religious duty: the less they were connected with civil society, and the order of the state, the more assiduous were they in extending that foreign jurisdiction, from which they received so many privileges and marks of favour. By these methods, England, as we shall see elsewhere, and some other countries, fell into a kind of slavery. Rome herself would have been amazed, had she compared the ancient rules with her new government.

The popes, who were chiefs of the hierarchy, and commonly better informed and more prudent than the bishops, had often been consulted on important and difficult matters. Thus, by degrees, they established a custom of sending their orders, because respect was paid to their counsels. They afterwards formed a scheme for having vicars in every country, who should command in their name; and not only the li-

Increase of
the papal
authority.

The popes
give order
in matters
which did
not belong
to them.

erty of the churches, but the political powers, received frequent shocks before they were totally subjected. Pepin and Carloman carrying on a war in Germany, the priest Sergius, envoy from pope Zachary to the duke of Bavaria, commanded them, in the name of his master and of St. Peter, to withdraw, in the same authoritative manner that he would have enjoined the observation of an ecclesiastical ordinance. However, the two princes fought a battle with the duke, and were victorious; upon which Pepin said to Sergius, *If St. Peter had judged our cause unjust, he would not have succoured us.* If we compare with this behaviour the intrigues to set Pepin upon the throne, to drive out the king of the Lombards, and shake off the yoke of the emperor, it will give us a distant prospect of the lengths to which the popes were one day to carry their enterprises, when their dominion should be more firmly established.

Importance
of being ac-
quainted
with the
abuses of re-
ligion.

I have found it necessary, though against my inclination, to dwell upon these disagreeable subjects, a knowledge of which is unhappily indispensable. The prodigious influence of the priesthood in public affairs gave birth to the principal events. The kingdoms were split into factions by two orders of opposite interests; whose rivalry, sometimes dormant, at others tumultuous, produced, as we shall see in the progress of this history, a long series of disturbances, still increased by the contending parties of each class. We shall behold a foreign pontiff, by help of religious prejudices, subject even

even crowned heads to his dominion; while religion, disfigured and mistaken, served as a pretext for numberless intestine cabals. In a word, we shall find the misfortunes of the church and state inseparably united, till the darkness, which had prevailed for many ages, was dispelled by the light of true science.

We have seen in the Ancient History, that almost all the priests of false religions confined knowledge to their own order, as the most proper means of supporting and extending their authority. They wanted to keep the people in ignorance of every thing but what they judged proper to teach them; made a mystery of the most important points; and, in a word, kept truth in captivity. With this view, the Druids of Gaul strictly prohibited writing, and secured to themselves the privilege of pronouncing their oracles, without being exposed to the least examination. Unluckily, the clergy among the barbarous nations, from a propensity which is but too natural, imitated this pernicious policy, and fostered the laity's haughty contempt for letters; which spreading among the bishops, who were generally tinctured with the national manners, writing was almost entirely confined to the cloisters. Several works of the ancients were there copied; and thus many of them have been preserved, the loss of which would not have been repaired: but they were much more assiduous in compiling wretched chronicles and fabulous legends; by which history, religion, the principles and rights of society, were almost totally corrupted.

Cause of the increase of ignorance.

Pernicious policy of the clergy.

Vid. Hist. de Celtes.

Blind credulity of mankind.

New chains were daily forged for mankind by gross superstition. False miracles, false relics, false acts, and frauds, pretendedly pious, were multiplied without end. The slightest review of the historians of those times, must give us the most dreadful ideas of the stupid blindness under which the nations laboured. Bede and Gregory of Tours adopt many absurdities as unquestionable facts. St. Gregory, though a pontiff whose virtues merit the highest commendation, despised and hated true literature, which forms the genius and strengthens the judgment : his own works are a proof, how advantageous it would have been for him to study the art of criticism.

False notions given them of religion.

The trifling questions put to him by Austin the monk, who converted the English, with his answers, are sufficient to shew what false notions then prevailed in the doctrine and practice of true religion. The correspondence between Boniface, the apostle of the Germans, and pope Zachary, sets this matter in a still clearer light. Zachary, in one of his letters, tells the missionary, that Christians are forbidden to eat jays, rooks, storks, hares, &c. In another, he says, " You ask me, how long lard ought to be kept before it be eaten. The fathers have given no direction in this matter; however, my opinion is, that it ought not to be eaten unless dried in smoke, or dressed with fire. But if any will eat it raw, it will be proper to wait till after the Easter holidays."

What becomes of religion, the essence of which is to adore God *in spirit and in truth*, according

according to the oracle of Jesus Christ—what becomes of it, when it is made to consist in contemptible *minutiæ*, and even in pernicious practices?

Almost all the Europeans, unacquainted with learning, the arts, commerce, and politics, necessarily became more barbarous and wretched, unless nature, if I may use the expression, was forced by some extraordinary revolution. We shall see Charlemagne make strong efforts, and attended with great success; but after him, all will sink into the former chaos.

The mis-
chiefs ne-
cessarily in-
creased.

SECOND

QZ03

SECOND EPOCH.A.

Charlemagne; or, the New Empire of the West.—Invasion of the Normans.

[From the End of the Eighth Century, to the Middle of the Tenth.]

CHAP. I.

Wars of Charlemagne.

THE French monarchy was divided between Pepin's two sons, Charles, called afterwards Charlemagne, and Carloman. These princes quarrelled, and their misunderstanding would have produced fatal effects, if Carloman's death, which happened in 771, had not put an end to their disputes. Charles, whose vast and ambitious genius was thus freed from every check, finding himself at the head of a powerful army, soon formed projects for immortalising his name. We are now to enter upon a reign, the course of which, and it lasted forty-six years, was a continued series of victories, political institutions, and remarkable events; which, in the midst of barbarism, offer

Beginning
of Charle-
magne's
reign.

Death of his
brother.

to our view objects worthy of employing our whole attention.

Mutual animosity of the popes and Lombard kings.

Paul I. and Didier.

There still remained in Italy a leaven of discord, fomented by the mutual animosity of the popes and Lombard kings. The dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, refusing to acknowledge Didier, the successor of Aistulf; that prince, who attributed their revolt to the papal intrigues, ravaged the territory which went by the name of *St. Peter's patrimony*, but afterwards came to an accommodation with pope Paul I. who pursued the plan of politics marked out by his predecessors. There are extant letters from Paul to Pepin, in which that monarch is styled a new Moses, the French a holy nation, and the Lombards are stigmatised as enemies of the church and the faith, though, as well as the others, they had embraced the catholic doctrine. But encomiums and reproaches were dictated by interest.

Ingratitude of Stephen IV. to Didier.

772.

After the death of Paul I. Constantine, the son of the duke of Nepi, having been forcibly set upon the papal throne, Didier put an end to a scandalous schism by favouring the election of Stephen IV. (772.) Notwithstanding this, the pope had recourse to France, in order to force him to restore some of the church lands, and even carried his ingratitude to a greater length. The project for a double marriage of Charlemagne and Carloman with the king of Italy's two daughters, filled him with the strongest apprehensions, and he used his utmost endeavours to prevent their alliance; not only insisting that these princes were already married, but describing

describing the Lombards as objects of contempt and horror, *who, says he, we know of a truth, first spread the leprosy.* Notwithstanding this odious imputation, Charlemagne married the daughter of Didier, but soon after divorced her, probably with a view to the conquest of her father's kingdom.

Charlemagne marries that king's daughter, and divorces her.

Didier, enraged at this affront, afforded an asylum to Carloman's widow and her two sons, who had been deprived of their inheritance by Charlemagne; after which, he endeavoured to bring pope Adrian I. over to his interest; but not being able to succeed, he ravaged the territories of the church. Upon this, Charlemagne, with whose designs Adrian was acquainted, passed the Alps with hasty marches, took Verona, where the children and widow of Carloman resided; made himself master of Pavia after a long siege, and destroyed the monarchy of the Lombards, which had subsisted two hundred and six years. Didier died in a monastery, but history is silent on the fate of Charlemagne's nephews. Should we be ignorant of it, if it could have reflected honour upon the conqueror?

He destroys the kingdom of the Lombards to gratify Adrian I.

774.

During the siege of Pavia, he paid a visit to Rome, where he was met by the whole body of the clergy with banners in their hands; Adrian received him with great pomp, in the church of St. Peter, and the people sung, *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.* Pepin's donation was ratified, if we may believe the historians; yet neither the original, nor any copy of so important a deed, could ever after be found, which

Pays a visit to Rome during the siege of Pavia.

which has made the whole matter to be questioned by some critics.

His rights,
and those of
the pope.

However generous Charlemagne was to the Holy See, he did not neglect his own interests. To the title of king of the Lombards he added, in quality of Roman patrician, the rights of sovereignty in Rome, and the territories granted to the Holy See. It is said, that Adrian invested him with the prerogative of ordering and confirming the election of the popes; but the Ostrogoth kings, and the exarchs, had exercised the same prerogative, as an appanage of the sovereigns of Rome. From a coin of that pontiff, the sovereignty of Rome seems to have been in his hands; but when, and how he acquired it, is a point impossible to be cleared up. Doubtless, he neglected nothing to obtain new concessions. On the other hand, we have every reason to believe, that Charles did not strip himself of his conquests.

General
idea of the
wars at that
time, which
were only
expeditions.

We shall not follow this hero in the expeditions which signalised almost every year of his reign. War was then carried on without a settled plan, or connected train of operations. There were neither regular troops, nor funds for their subsistence. Every lord headed his own soldiers, and was bound to serve only a limited time. A war was commonly obliged to be ended with the campaign; the troops were then discharged, and, in case of necessity, again assembled the following year. Hence it was, that the war against the Saxons, though invariably successful, lasted thirty years. Let us content

tent ourselves with mentioning the most memorable facts.

Abderaman or Almanzor, the Arabian prince already mentioned, reigned gloriously in Spain. The petty Christian kings of the Asturias had prudently sued for peace; but the governors of Saragossa and Arragon revolted, and called in Charlemagne, whom they acknowledged for their sovereign. Upon this, he passed the Pyrennées in 778, and subdued the whole country to the Ebro; or rather, was received there by the lords, with whom he maintained a correspondence. On his return from this expedition, his rear-guard was defeated by the duke of Gascony, at Roncevalles, where fell the famous Roland, so celebrated by the writers of romance, and whom they supposed the nephew of Charlemagne. But the notions of chivalry were not yet such as has been imagined by those who have borrowed their ideas from these fabulous compositions.

In 788 died Abderaman, and his death, which was followed by civil wars among his children, gave the Christians in Spain an opportunity of recovering themselves. A monument of that prince's grandeur still subsists in the cathedral of Cordova; a building of six hundred feet in length, and two hundred and fifty in breadth, supported by three hundred and sixty-five pillars of alabaster, jasper, and black marble. Such works could have been planned and executed by no other nation but the Arabians.

Expedition
into Spain
against Al-
manzor.

Death of
Abderaman.

Mosque of
Cordova still
subsisting.

France

War of
thirty years
against the
Saxons.

France had long been at war with the Saxons, who preserved all the ferocity of the German manners, while their courage was still more inflamed by the love of liberty. Pepin had subjected them to tribute, and besides, forced them to receive missionaries; but they could neither bear to pay the one, nor embrace the religion of the other, the pacific spirit of which was so contradictory to the human passions. These Barbarians having massacred some missionaries, the abbot of Fulda, at the diet of Worms in 772, prevailed upon the king to take arms against them. Though often beaten, they still rebelled; their general, the celebrated Witikind, incessantly rousing their ardour for war, and their love of independence. In 782, he gained a complete victory over the French.

Massacre
perpetrated
by Charle-
magne.

Witikind
submits.

Charlemagne took a cruel revenge, by the massacre of Verden, where four thousand five hundred of the principal Saxons were beheaded. Witikind, after being defeated with great slaughter in several battles, made his submission, and embraced Christianity. Though he kept his engagements with fidelity, he never could inspire his countrymen with a salutary spirit of docility. They often submitted, and as often revolted; but at last, after a war of thirty years, they were entirely subjected, by transplanting many thousand families of them into Flanders and other countries. The most resolute retired into Scandinavia, carrying with them an implacable hatred against the dominion and religion of the French.

The

The conqueror justly looked upon Christianity, as the best means for softening the turbulence of a ferocious people. But he knew not, that Christians are not made by violence. His capitularies for the Saxons seem almost equally barbarous with their own manners. He obliged them to receive baptism, under pain of death, and to pay tythes to the clergy; an imposition, to which even the French refused submission; he made it capital to break the fast of Lent, and, in a word, substituted force instead of persuasion. These first Saxon laws shock the feelings of humanity; yet the people were at last reconciled to them, and caused them to be confirmed by the emperor Conrad II. A horrid inquisition, rather than real justice, was long exercised by the sanguinary tribunals of the *Vehm* court, and *Westphalian judicature*, which, on the testimony of vile informers, passed sentence of condemnation without any form of process. These courts were not abolished till the sixteenth century; a circumstance which appears unaccountable, unless we suppose, that superstition had, in some measure, changed nature.

Violences committed for the establishment of Christianity in Saxony.

Long duration of the Saxon laws, notwithstanding their barbarity.

Every nation in Germany, that dared to make the least commotion, sunk under the arms of the French hero. Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, who had been compelled to receive the investiture of his duchy, having rebelled, was stripped of his dominions. The Slavonians in Pomerania were subdued. The Huns or Abares, who had settled in Hungary, were driven beyond the Raab. Charlemagne needed but to

Germany subjected France.

shew himself to disperse his enemies. We shall see him still greater among his own subjects.

CHAP. II.

*Council of Francfort, and Affairs of the Church.
—Charlemagne Emperor.—End of his Reign.*

Charle-
magne ex-
tended his
care to every
department.

NOTwithstanding the multiplicity of his wars, Charlemagne was attentive to the interests of government, laws, manners, learning, and religion. He held frequent conventions of the states, in order to regulate the affairs of the nation and the church; examined every thing, and presided in all business with indefatigable assiduity. The council of Francfort, in which the worship of images was condemned, presents the historian with an interesting object, proper to shew the prejudices of the age, the authority of the sovereign, and the pernicious effects of a contentious theology, as well as the cure for the evils it may produce.

794.
Famous
council of
Francfort.

The primary object of this council was, the condemnation of the doctrine broached by Felix Urgello, and Elipand of Toledo, two Spanish bishops; who, in order to refute the charge of polytheism, brought against the Christians by the Jews and Mussulmen, maintained, that Jesus Christ was the son of God only by adoption, and destroyed the doctrine of the Trinity while they appeared to defend it.

Three hundred bishops, with two legates from the pope, assembled in consequence of the king's orders, and Francfort became a second Nice, where the doctrine of the church was destined to triumph over heresy.

Charles, seated on a throne, opened the assembly in person, and moved for a sentence of condemnation. In a letter addressed to the churches of Spain, he expresses himself in the following remarkable terms: *You conjured me to judge this affair myself; I have done it; I have assisted as bearer and arbiter at the assembly of bishops; we have seen, and, by the grace of God, ordained what is to be believed.* Neither Constantine, nor the other emperors, who were too jealously fond of dipping into theological matters, had assumed a tone of greater authority. But Charles, far from being blamed, was always loaded with praises. His authority and benefactions, doubtless, covered all the faults in his conduct.

The king displays his authority in the council.

In the question concerning images, he acted with still greater haughtiness. Leo IV. son of Constantine-Copronymus, copying the example of his father's persecution, had banished his own wife Irene, for having concealed images under the pillow of her bed. This princess, equally susceptible of the charms of devotion and ambition, being afterwards raised to the imperial dignity, jointly with her infant son Constantine-Porphrogenetes, was desirous of establishing a worship, which she favoured both from inclination and policy. Tarasius, secretary of state, was elected patriarch of Constantinople,

Worship of images restored by Irene.

Decision of
the council
of Nice.

tinople, and employed as an instrument to execute her designs. The second council of Nice, held in 787, decreed, that an honorary *adoration* should be paid to images, not the true *latria*, which is due only to the Deity. The ignorance of the Greeks is plainly proved by the forged writings, and apocryphal facts, quoted in the acts of that council; but, according to the remark of some great theologians, these do not invalidate the decision, which was supported by authentic pieces.

Charles
causes this
council to
be rejected
with con-
tempt.

Unluckily the translation of the acts sent by pope Adrian into France was so defective, as to contain these words: *I receive and honour images according to the adoration which I pay to the Holy Trinity*. Less than this would have been sufficient to startle the French, who were already prejudiced against the Greeks and their worship; for no honours were paid to images in the monarchy. Charles caused the *Caroline books* to be composed by the bishops, and published them under the following title: *Against the council surreptitiously and arrogantly held in Greece to establish the worship of images*. This title is sufficient to give an idea of the work, which is only a rhapsody of foul language and false reasoning. In a word, the council of Francfort rejected that of Nice with the utmost contempt, and the king sent to the pope his *Caroline books*, which were extremely proper to inflame the quarrel.

Caroline
books.

Prudence
and policy
of pope
Adrian.

Among a people like the Greeks, naturally sophists and keen theological disputants, an affair of such delicacy would have been necessarily

farily attended with dangerous consequences. But in France this was not the case, because the clergy of that country entertained the same sentiments with the prince, and Adrian was prudent enough to yield to the conjunctures. His reply to Charlemagne was worded with great circumspection: he there maintained the doctrine of Nice without condemning that of France, and declared, that his motive for receiving the Greek council was to prevent their relapsing into error; he spoke in general of the plans he had formed *for the aggrandizement of the Romish church and the regal power*. These plans were probably the same which we shall see executed by his successor. The popes were far from being well affected to the empire of Constantinople, and experienced the utility of being under the protection of France: a French emperor, indebted to them for his dignity, would more zealously promote the *aggrandizement of the Romish church*. We now draw near the time when Charlemagne received that title.

His projects in favour of Charles, in order to promote the interests of the Holy See.

He was desirous that Adrian should excommunicate the Greek emperor, being doubtless persuaded that such a step would promote his designs. As the pope could not consistently make a handle of the controversy concerning images, he promised (which must fill every man with astonishment) to declare Constantine and Irene heretics, if they refused to restore certain church lands. The temporal interest, then, is to regulate the use of spiritual arms! What storms are gathering at a distance against the princes!

He promises to pass a sentence of excommunication solely on a temporal account.

Leo III.
takes re-
fuge with
Charles.

Leo III., who succeeded Adrian in 796, immediately on his accession sent the standard of Rome to Charlemagne, intreating him to dispatch some person to that city in order to receive the allegiance of the inhabitants; a palpable proof of his rights of sovereignty being always acknowledged in Rome. Three years after, two men of considerable rank among the clergy, relations of the late pope, and enemies of Leo, not only entered an accusation against him, but attacked him in the open street, overwhelmed him with a shower of blows, and shut him up half dead in the prison of a monastery. However, he found means to escape, and fled to Charlemagne, who sent him back with the greatest honours, and made preparations to follow him into Italy.

800.
That prince
judges the
Pope at
Rome.

That prince, on his arrival at Rome, after holding private conferences with the pope for six days, assembled the bishops and lords to examine into the charges brought against him; upon which the prelates exclaimed, *The holy See can be judged by none.* This was not the opinion of Symmachus, who, in the reign of Theodoric, even insisted upon being tried by a council. However, Leo made his defence, declared that the king was come *to take cognizance of the cause*, and exculpated himself upon oath.

Leo crowns
him empe-
ror.

On Christmas-day Charlemagne attending mass in St. Peter's church; the imperial crown was suddenly placed upon his head by the pope in the middle of the service, and the people shouted from every quarter, *Life and victory to Charles*

SECOND EPOCH:

119

Charles Augustus, crowned by the hand of God, great and pacific emperor of the Romans! That prince, if we may believe Eginhard his secretary, expected nothing like it, and gave evident marks of surprise and sorrow. But whoever in the least reflects on Charlemagne's ambition, his own political plans and those of the pope, their secret conferences and the circumstances of events, will pay little regard to such demonstrations. Besides, what right had the Romans, particularly the pope, to proclaim an emperor? What right could that title, thus granted, convey to a king of France? Perhaps none, if we may judge by the state of Rome and the West; but opinions are fixed by words well or ill understood. It was believed then, that the empire, of which not a vestige remained, was re-established, and Charlemagne acted as successor of the ancient emperors.

Second empire of the West, upon what founded.

Irene, who had dethroned and put to death her son Constantine, that she might enjoy the sole power, entered into a treaty of marriage with him in order to preserve her Italian dominions; and it was agreed upon, when the patrician Nicephorus, having formed a conspiracy against her, confined her in a monastery, and mounted the throne. The new emperor likewise, dreading the power of Charlemagne, sent him an embassy, and the limits of the two empires were settled. By a new treaty concluded in 811, Calabria, Sicily, the coast of Naples, Dalmatia, and Venice, remained subject to the Greeks. There are proofs extant of Venice being even then in a state of depend-

Irene dethroned by Nicephorus.

Treaty with the emperor of the East. Venice still dependent.

ence; but she aspired to that entire liberty which she soon after obtained.

Charle-
magne's
correspond-
ence with
Haroun-al-
Raschid.

The renown of Charles extended even into Asia. He kept up a correspondence with the famous Haroun-al-Raschid, the twenty-fifth Calif; one of those princes who principally contributed to the promotion of learning and politeness among the Arabians. According to Eginhard, he preferred the French king's friendship to that of all other princes; a proof of the value he set on it was the cession of the sovereignty of Jerusalem, a city to which multitudes of Christians even at that time resorted, from a principle of devotion. Among the curious presents sent by the Calif, what principally excited the admiration of the French was a striking clock, the first that had been seen in the kingdom. Whatever efforts Charlemagne made to enlighten his age, the most learned men of his court were not even comparable to the Calif. The Arabians were then qualified to be instructors of all Europe, which was sunk in the darkness of barbarism. Let us speak a few words of this wonderful phenomenon.

The Califs
made arts
and sciences
flourish,

The descendants of Abbas having recovered the crown, and transferred the seat of the Mussulman empire from Damascus to Caffa, and afterwards to Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris; the Calif Almanzor drew thither the arts and sciences, a taste for which, these barbarous conquerors had acquired by receiving a tincture of them from the Greeks: a kind of triumph reserved for polished nations even in their abasement, and which might afford matter
of

of consolation, if any consolation could be found for a people under the pressure of slavery, after the enjoyment of a glorious liberty! Mahadi, successor of Almanzor, fostered those precious seeds; and Al-Raschid, who reigned after Mahadi, increased their fecundity by his care and abilities. Under Almamon, Motasssem, and Watik, they made still greater progress; until at last the Arabians, like so many other nations, by their dissensions and civil wars, were deprived of the fruits of genius, which are for the most part inseparable from the happiness and tranquillity of the state. In all empires we find the same revolutions produced by the same causes; and nothing is more worthy of attention, when we would study history as we ought.

One great cause of the ruin of states always was, their being shared among several princes; a custom which universally prevailed; and Charlemagne conformed to it by his will, in 806, which he caused to be signed by the bishops and great lords; and afterwards sent it to Rome, in order to have the signature of the pope. This will bears, that in case of any dispute among his three sons, recourse shall be had to the judgment of the cross, in order to discover the will of the Deity. (This was one of the most ridiculous of the *ordeals*; the party who longest kept his arms extended, in the form of a cross, gained his cause.) In 813, Louis, king of Aquitaine, being the sole survivor of the three brothers, Charles chose him for his colleague in the empire; and ordered him to take the crown, which was placed
on

Division of
the French
monarchy.

Louis asso-
ciated in the
empire.

on the altar, as a mark that he held it of God alone. We shall soon find the clergy establish very different principles.

C H A P. III.

Observations on the Reign of Charlemagne.—State of England till the Dissolution of the Heptarchy.

314.
End of
Charle-
magne's
reign.
Extent of
his empire.

THE glory of the French empire seemed to be buried with Charlemagne, who died at Aix-la-Chapelle, his ordinary residence, at the age of seventy-one. He was master of all France, Germany, and part of Hungary, with the Low-Countries, the county of Barcelona in Spain, and Italy, as far as Benevento; a vast empire to maintain, which required a genius equal to that monarch's.

His great
qualities.

This hero was the wonder of his age; whether we consider his abilities, his great actions, his extensive views, his incredible activity, the wisdom of his government, or even his virtues, though these be not entirely free from spots. He turned his attention upon an endless number of details, at the same time that he was projecting and executing the greatest enterprises. His household was a pattern of oeconomy, his person, of simplicity and real grandeur. He established the excellent custom of sending into the provinces commissioners, to examine the conduct of the dukes, by whom they were governed,

Royal en-
voys esta-
blished by
him.

verned, and the counts who were vested with the judicial power; to receive complaints, to check oppressions, and to maintain good order. These *royal envoys* paid their visits every three months; and frequently made their appearance at Rome, where their authority awed even the popes.

As the clergy were the only men who had any tincture of knowledge, it is not to be wondered that they were continually loaded with favours by a prince who was a friend to learning, as well as religion. He employed the bishops in all affairs; associated them with the counts in the administration of justice; and, in conjunction with them and the lords, composed his capitularies; which, however, it must be acknowledged, are too numerous, and contain abuses mixed with good laws. He established the tithes in lieu of the lands detained from the church; an impost which was long a source of murmurs. But, on the other hand, he prohibited the bishops from bearing arms; enjoining them to apply to study, and confine themselves to their proper vocation: in a word, he endeavoured to restore ecclesiastical discipline to its vigour; and his want of success was the strongest demonstration that the evil was incurable. The submission of the clergy to his orders was no less a proof of his skill in the science of government.

We have seen to what lengths that prince carried his authority in religious matters, without finding the least resistance from the bishops or popes; and we meet with a new instance of it in the

Favours he bestowed on the clergy.

He valued himself too much on his skill in theology.

Dispute on
the clause
filius be-
ing added
to the Creed.

Leo III. by
his prudence
prevents a
schism.

Projects and
establish-
ments of
Charle-
magne.

the famous dispute on the Third Person of the Trinity. The Nicene Creed affirmed, that the Holy Spirit *proceeds from the Father*. From the beginning of the seventh century, the Spaniards and French added the clause, and from the Son (*filius*). This the Greeks looked upon as an abominable scandal; and it was thought a culpable novelty by the Church of Rome, which likewise disapproved the custom of chanting the Creed. In 809 the king convoked the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to confirm the addition; and defended it with the zeal of a theological doctor, in a dogmatical letter to pope Leo III., which is a mere cento of texts of scripture strung together. Leo made no decision; but contented himself with justifying the practice of Rome, and advising to let that of France fall into desuetude by degrees. Had it not been for the pope's condescension, perhaps the clause *filius* would have occasioned a schism between the Italians and the French, as well as between the Latins and Greeks. Luckily the clergy and monks in the West were not then possessed with the spirit of controversy: at another time these steps of the sovereign would have been a signal of civil discords.

If Charlemagne, like the Greek emperors, valued himself on his skill in theology; at least his genius was not confined within the narrow circle of vain subtilties, but aspired to the great and useful in every species. He created a naval force, in order to oppose the incursions of the Normans; a formidable and piratical nation, who already insulted the kingdom, and ravaged it
after

after his death. He attempted to join the ocean with the Black Sea by a canal of communication between the Rhine and the Danube. How advantageous might this work have been for trade! But, at that time, France could furnish no man of sufficient capacity to put it in execution.

The prince collected about his person a number of *literati*, and formed in his palace a kind of academy, of which he was a member. He established schools in the cathedrals and monasteries; where the scholars were taught grammar, arithmetic, and church-music; and though their education went no farther, yet even this was a great deal, when several councils had required no more qualifications from the priests, than to understand the Lord's Prayer.

I shall say nothing of Charlemagne's rich donations to the churches; especially that of Rome, to which Eginhard is surprised *he made no more than four pilgrimages*: such was the prevailing spirit during several ages. The public exigencies were supplied, and the taste for pious profusions gratified, by the treasures of the Huns and Lombards. It appears a singularity, that Charlemagne, while he reproached the ecclesiastics with their love of riches, continued to enrich them. Three valuable abbeys were the recompence of Alcuin, a learned Englishman, whom he had drawn to France; whose merit was then admired, but whose works cannot now find a reader. This powerful abbot was reproached with having twenty thousand slaves. As the common people were *serfs*, and the lands of his

Schools,
what was
taught in
them.

Donations
to the
church.

The abbot
Alcuin, a
learned
man, en-
riched.

three abbeys might contain twenty thousand inhabitants, the reproach was not entirely groundless; at least it gives us some idea of the opulence of the ecclesiastics.

Of England,
from its
conquest by
the Saxons.

Alcuin's country now begins to deserve a place in this history. After the Romans had abandoned Great Britain, in order to defend the rest of the empire against the Barbarians, it had fallen a prey to the Saxons; who being called in by the Britons, against the Scots and Picts, subdued the people whom they had come to defend. About the middle of the fifth century, the Saxons and Angles, or English (originally the same people), founded seven petty kingdoms, named the Heptarchy*. Christianity was introduced into Kent by Bertha, daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, and wife of Ethelbert. It was then that Gregory the Great sent the monk Austin to preach the faith to those Barbarians. Bertha's zeal was imitated by a queen of Northumberland, and another of Mercia; and the true religion spread universally; but the people ill instructed, almost without principles, and ready to comply with every caprice of their princes, from time to time returned to idolatry; which at last, however, totally disappeared. If England was, more than other countries, subject to the see of Rome, it was owing to the missionary monks, or their successors, making obedience to it one of the principal duties of religion.

Establish-
ment of
Christianity
in that
country.

* Kingdoms of Kent, Suffex, Essex, Wessix, Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumberland.

Offa,

SECOND EPOCH A:

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Offa, the most celebrated of the Mercian kings, mounted the throne in 755, after having assassinated the king of East Anglia, and seized upon his dominions. He then took a journey to Rome, in order to receive absolution, which was given by pope Adrian I. On this occasion he established *Peter-pence*; a kind of tax of a penny *per* house (amounting to about two shillings and sixpence of the present money); which the popes afterwards exacted as a tribute: in a word, he obliterated the remembrance of his crimes, by extensive donations, which a poor state was scarce able to support. This prince was in amity with Charlemagne, and sent him the famous Alcuin, who was revered as a prodigy of learning; because, in that age, few people could even read.

King Offa
seeks abso-
lution at
Rome.

Peter-pence.

The Heptarchy was destroyed in 827, when Egbert, king of Wessex, the only survivor of the ancient royal families, formed it into a single kingdom. Being persecuted in his youth, he had found an asylum and instruction in the court of Charlemagne, where he changed the Saxon ferocity for gentler and more polished manners. The historian, William of Malmesbury, represents the French as the model for the nations of the West; though the French themselves were then scarce emerged from the ancient barbarism.

Egbert
unites the
seven king-
doms.

By the prudence and valour of Egbert, the kingdom was preserved from the attacks of the piratical Danes, who every day became more formidable. We shall soon see them acquire settlements, both in England and France. A part of the Saxons, flying from the cruelties committed

Incurfions
of the
Danes.

mitted by Charlemagne, upon motives of religion and politics, had taken refuge among them, and inspired them with a desire of revenge, as well as a hatred against Christianity.

Let us return to the French monarchy; which, during a long period, will be a kind of common centre in the history of Europe, where all the lines drawn from the circumference will meet.

C H A P. IV.

Weak and unfortunate Reign of Louis the Debonnaire.—Partition of his Kingdom.

814.
Weakness
and devo-
tion of
Louis.

UNDER Louis the Debonnaire, son of Charlemagne, every thing gave symptoms of approaching decay. The pusillanimous devotion, weak character, and narrow genius of the prince, rendered him entirely incapable of supporting the weight of so vast an empire. He placed his whole confidence in a pious monk, who was only fit for governing a pious monastery. He made himself odious to the clergy by projects of reformation; not foreseeing that that powerful body would be less submissive to him than they had been to his father: in a word, he was very careful of his sanctity, and very negligent of the government; as if sanctity did not consist in fulfilling his primary duties, and as if the practices of the cloister would compensate for the business of the throne.

One

One of the great faults committed by Louis, was dividing the monarchy among his children; and thus still more weakening an authority already so much enfeebled by the folly of the government. He gave Aquitaine to Pepin, Bavaria to Louis, and made Lothaire, the eldest of these princes, his partner in the empire. This partition gave offence to Bernard, king of Italy, and grandson of Charlemagne; who, from his title of king of Italy, as well as his descent from an elder brother of the emperor, claimed rights incompatible with the association of Lothaire; and being spirited up to a revolt by his flatterers, raised an army against his uncle, in defiance of the imperial dignity, of which his crown was a fief. Being abandoned by his troops, he was taken prisoner, tried, and condemned to death; but Louis commuted that punishment, and caused his eyes to be put out; three days after which the young prince died. In order to prevent new troubles, the emperor shut up in a monastery three natural sons of Charlemagne, who had kept several concubines or wives of the second order.

After these acts of rigour, being distracted with remorse, reproaching himself as the murderer of his nephew, and the tyrant of his brothers; and his scruples being fostered by imprudent or ambitious monks and bishops, he accused himself in a general assembly, intreating the prelates to admit him to public penance. The clergy pretended to be edified by this proceeding; but they saw how easy it would be to enslave a man of feeble understanding, whose

317.
This prince
imprudently
divides the
monarchy.

Revolt of
Bernard,
king of
Italy.

His punish-
ment.

Preposterous
humiliation
of Louis.

mistaken devotion debased the imperial majesty.

829.
Discord
sown in the
royal family
by the em-
press Judith.

The abbot
Vala, head
of the fac-
tious.

Louis al-
most de-
throned.

The seeds of revolt were fostered by Judith of Bavaria, the emperor's second wife. As her son Charles (who was afterwards king, under the name of Charles the Bald) seemed to be excluded from the succession, by the partition made in favour of the children of the first marriage; in order to secure an establishment for him, she prevailed upon Louis to make a new division, and obtained the consent of Lothaire; who was principally concerned to oppose it, and who soon found reason to repent of his complaisance. The three princes formed a strong party; and Vala, abbot of Corbie, a monk of high birth, who had formerly been in credit at the court of Charlemagne, but was then in disgrace, and a malecontent, though respected as a saint, putting himself at the head of the faction, by his example and discourses drew away a number of the prelates. Prodigies were forged to inflame the credulous multitude; and the party declaimed against the government, particularly the empress; who was accused of adultery with count Bernard, an inflexible and odious minister. At last Louis was struck with terror, and humbled himself; his wife was confined to a cloister, and he himself very narrowly escaped being obliged to put on the monastic habit; which was the intention of the faction, and which was prevented only by the artifices of a monk, who sowed discord among the princes. The monks now became, in the West, what they had been for several centuries in the East.

SECOND EPOCH A.

131

Before the rebellion broke out, Louis had convoked four councils; and submitted to their censure his own conduct, that of his children, all the abuses committed by the government, and, consequently, the whole administration. In the acts of the council of Paris (for these alone are extant), we find the most extravagant advices given him in favour of the episcopal dignity. The following strange address to the bishops is put into the mouth of Constantine: *God hath invested you with the power of judging us; but you cannot be judged by human authority. God hath set you over us as gods; and it is not consistent that man should judge gods. That belongs only to him of whom it is written, God sitteth in the assembly of the gods, and judgeth them.* This perhaps best accounts for the enterprises of the clergy against crowned heads. When they set out from such principles, to what lengths would they not carry their audacity, under princes who could neither act with prudence nor vigour!

He had submitted to the episcopal censure.

Strange discourse on the episcopal dignity.

So many repeated proofs of weakness, and the general amnesty which followed, were only calculated for increasing the insolence of the seditious. Meantime Louis wanted to act as master, which still more prompted the subjects to rebel. He recalled Judith; who, being freed from the monastic veil, returned to court with all her ambition, exasperated by a thirst of revenge. He banished Vala, whose punishment naturally provoked the fanaticism of his admirers. He declared, that Lothaire had forfeited the empire; and, in favour of young Charles, disinherited the king of Aquitaine, who had

A multiplicity of mistakes occasion a revolt.

been guilty of a second revolt; by which means he exposed himself to the irreconcilable hatred of his unnatural sons. He even made himself odious to count Bernard, his minister; who became his enemy, because he suffered himself to be guided by the counsels of a monk.

832.
Gregory IV.
unites with
the rebel
princes.

Soon after, a civil war was kindled. Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis assembled their troops in Alsace, against a father whom they despised, and looked upon as a tyrant. Pope Gregory IV. joined them, under pretence of acting as mediator; but a report being spread, that he was coming to excommunicate the emperor, some loyal bishops reproached him with treason to his sovereign; threatened him with excommunication for excommunication, and even with deposition, if he persisted to side with the rebels. But Agobard of Lyons, the most celebrated of the French prelates, acted upon principles directly opposite; refusing to appear at court when summoned by the sovereign, and maintaining that obedience ought to be paid to the pope.

Agobard
sides with
the pope.

Abuse made
of forged de-
cretals.

These errors took their rise from the decretals forged in the time of Charlemagne, to give the popes unlimited authority; never was imposture attended with more pernicious consequences. These pretended decrees, which were attributed to the popes of the four first centuries, though evidently contrary to the discipline of the primitive ages, have passed for inviolable laws of the church, infected the legislative system of every state, and would still preserve their influence, had they not been demonstrated to be spurious by the rules of modern criticism. By a

compi-

compilation of texts, for the most part drawn from this corrupt fountain, by Vala and his disciple the monk Ratbert, Gregory was convinced, that he was invested with the authority of universal judge, and that he was amenable to no tribunal. Accordingly, his answer to the royalist prelates breathes a spirit of haughtiness till then unheard of.

Meantime the emperor, having set out on his march at the head of a body of troops, complaining that the pontifical authority was abused to his prejudice, the pope was sent to him by the artful Lothaire, under pretence of negotiating an accommodation. It is not known what passed between them; but all at once Louis was abandoned, the desertion was general, and he delivered himself into the hands of the rebels; he was then deposed by a tumultuous assembly, and the empire conferred upon his son; after which the pope returned to Rome.

In order to give permanency to this revolution, and keep the unfortunate emperor for ever in their fetters, the prelates adopted the following extraordinary method: "A penitent," said they, "ought to be excluded from holding any civil office; therefore a king, who is a penitent, must be incapable of governing; consequently, to subject Louis to public penance, will for ever bar his way to the throne." The principal instrument, in this infamous conspiracy, was Ebbo, whom he had raised from a servile condition to the see of Reims, and who, after uttering a bitter invective against his mas-

Louis betrayed, and surrenders to the rebels, by whom he is deposed.

§33.
The Bishops make his penance a reason for excluding him from the throne.

ter in a general assembly, caused him to be condemned to penance during life.

Ignominious circumstances of that ceremony.

The devoted prince was informed, that, having lost his dignity, he was now to think only of his salvation; and far from giving the least marks of resentment, still testified the greatest respect for those traitors who were unworthy of the holy ministry: he was then confined in the monastery of St. Medard de Soissons, to which the bishops repaired in order to perform the fatal ceremony. There, prostrate on a hair-cloth, he acknowledged himself guilty; but this was not sufficient. A written confession was presented to him, and he was obliged to accuse himself, among other crimes, of having marched a body of troops in the time of Lent, of having convoked an assembly on Holy Thursday, and of having engaged in a war against his children; for at that time, superstition could convert the least censurable, the most necessary actions, into crimes. Having thus confessed every thing required of him, he laid aside his baldrick with his royal robes, and clothing himself in the sackcloth habit of a penitent, was shut up in a cell. Agobard himself, whose virtue then deviated from the true path, wrote a vindication of these horrors. Prejudice justifies every thing.

834.
Lothaire
flies; the
emperor re-
flected,

But the cry of nature, the voice of justice, made a deeper impression on the hearts of the people: Lothaire became the object of universal detestation, and his two brothers united against him. He dragged his father to Aix-la-chapelle, from whence he afterwards brought him

him back to Paris; and at last, being obliged to fly for his own safety, left him at St. Denis, to which the nobility immediately repaired to do him homage as their lawful sovereign: but Louis dared not resume that title till he had received absolution.

He wrote to the abbot Hilduin, that he had again put on the baldric *by the authority and sentence of the bishops*, attributing this blessing to the merits of St. Denis, and inviting the monk to write the history of his protector. Hilduin complied, and wrote a life of this first bishop of Paris, or rather a romance, in which he is confounded with Dionysius the Areopagite, and which describes him, after his martyrdom, taking up his head that had been cut off, and carrying it in his hands. The ignorance of the times made these fables long respected.

Louis brought a complaint against those bishops whose guilt was most flagrant, before a council held at Thionville (for it was thought they were not under the jurisdiction of any other tribunal), which thrice summoned Agobard of Lyons to appear, and on his third refusal deposed him. Ebbo, who was a prisoner, avoided the shame of a trial, by making a private confession, and voluntarily laying down the episcopal character. Every thing was soon forgotten. The emperor restored Agobard; shewed only marks of respect for Gregory IV. and received an admonition from the council of Thionville, in which the pretended discourse of Constantine, before quoted, was inculcated anew. Complying in every thing with the views

He acknowledges that he owed his crown to the bishops and St. Denis.

Fabulous life of the saint.

Trial of the bishops who were most guilty.

Louis al-
ways weak.

of that assembly, he obliged Pepin to restore some church lands which were reclaimed; in a word, he employed himself in acts of devotion, while the Normans were making their usual inroads into the provinces, and intestine disorders threatened the kingdom with ruin.

New mis-
conduct fol-
lowed by a
rebellion.

The same misfortunes were invariably produced by a repetition of the same faults. Pepin died, and the empress Judith caused his children to be stripped of their inheritance in favour of prince Charles, for whom she had, a little before, procured the kingdom of Neustria. Lothaire, who had before been restored to the possession of Italy, shared in the spoils of Pepin, and, on that consideration, swore to support the son of Judith. The king of Bavaria, offended with a partition in which he had no share, took arms against his father; who, though the most indulgent of parents, and the mildest of princes, was always attacked as a tyrant, because the faults of weakness may be equally odious with the rigours of despotism.

840.
Death of
Louis the
Debonnaire.

The emperor, while on his march against this rebellious son, tortured with grief, and terrified by an eclipse of the sun, which he took for an omen of his death, fell sick in the neighbourhood of Mentz, and expired in the twenty-eighth year of his reign. He was not destitute of erudition; he had the virtues of a private man, and was well qualified for a monk, but by no means for a sovereign.

Restoration
of canonical
elections.

Immediately on his accession, he had restored the freedom of canonical elections, of which the clergy were very jealous, but which are not easily

easily reconcileable with the interests of the crown. Besides the intrigues and unedifying behaviour to which they had frequently given occasion, the bishops and abbots were, from a multitude of concurring causes, grown too powerful in a monarchy, for their election to be trusted to the caprice of those in whose hands it was placed. Accordingly, the kings of the first race had either appointed them immediately, or ordered whom they chose to be elected. Louis the Debonnaire felt too severely, how essential the submission of the clergy is to the safety of the prince. Luxury, pride, the spirit of dominion, the fondness of the ecclesiastical lords for secular things, and the prejudices of those whose manners were irreproachable, became the more pernicious, as they spoke in the name of the Lord, and therefore were almost always sure of being obeyed.

Were they
consistent
with the
safety of the
crown?

In 816, a law was enacted, annulling all donations made to the church in prejudice of the children, or near relations of the donator. Yet this abuse, which had been before condemned by Charlemagne, increased every day.

Donations
to the
church in
prejudice of
children.

The popes, who never let any opportunity slip, perceived the advantage they might reap from a scrupulous and pusillanimous prince. Stephen V. elected in 816, did not wait for his confirmation, but sent an excuse for omitting that formality; he came to perform the ceremony of the emperor's inauguration, who prostrated himself three times at his feet; whereas Adrian had prostrated himself before Charlemagne. What could be Stephen's motive for this

The popes
took advantage
of the
emperor's
weakness.

this journey? Probably, he looked upon the ceremony of the coronation as a title for the nomination of the emperor; which was a right arrogated by the court of Rome. Pascal I. followed the example of Stephen V., took possession of the pontificate without the consent of the emperor, and in like manner made his excuse.

Yet he exercised sovereignty at Rome.

Yet Louis and Lothaire acted as sovereigns of Rome, and sent thither their officers for the administration of justice; we even find the popes making the people take the oath of allegiance to these princes: but the clause inserted in it, "saving the fidelity promised to the apostolic lord," (the pope) unveils their political views, the success of which depended upon contingencies. Eugene II. and Valentine were consecrated in presence of the commissioners. Gregory IV. waited for the emperor's confirmation, yet that did not afterwards prevent his infidelity.

The Saracens in Sicily, &c.

Under the pontificate of this last, the Saracens, having subdued Sicily, infested the sea of Tuscany, and threatened Italy; when Gregory, dreading that they would make themselves masters of the Tiber, and attack Rome, caused Ostia to be rebuilt and fortified. Saracens on the South,—Normans on the North,—dangers on every side—within, misery, confusion, discord, horrid crimes, and civil wars; such is the ground-work of history for a long period. The misfortunes of France above all deserve our attention.

CHAP. V.

Troubles and civil Wars under Charles the Bald.

A Bad son will never be a good brother; for the feelings of nature being once stifled, the passions gain the predominance in the heart, and spurn every duty. We must, therefore, naturally expect to see the children of Louis the Debonnaire armed against each other. The emperor Lothaire, immediately forgetting his oaths in favour of Charles the Bald, attempted to strip him of his dominions, and at the same time formed projects for attacking the king of Bavaria. These two princes, united by common interest, defeated their elder brother, at Fontenai in Burgundy. Few battles have been more bloody; fraternal hatred there displayed its utmost fury.

841.
Quarrels
among the
children of
Louis the
Debonnaire.

Battle of
Fontenai.

The only thing now remaining was, for Louis and Charles to secure the dominions of a vanquished and fugitive brother; for which purpose, they addressed themselves to the clergy, with a confidence the better founded, as Lothaire, in order to procure a body of troops, had promised the Saxons liberty to abjure the Christian religion, or, if we will soften the expression, liberty of conscience. A numerous meeting of bishops was held at Aix-la-chapelle; where, after making an enquiry into the emperor's conduct, they demanded of the two princes,

The clergy
give Lo-
thaire's do-
minions to
his brothers.

princes, whether they would follow his example, or govern conformably to the law of God? Their answer may be easily guessed. *Receive this kingdom then by divine authority*, added the prelates, *we exhort you, we command you to it*. The command would have been obeyed in its full extent, had it been as much respected by Lothaire as it was by his brothers.

New division of the empire among them.

But this prince was still formidable. By a new treaty of partition, he was left in possession of the imperial dignity, with Italy and the countries situated between the Rhone, the Alps, the Maes, and the Rhine. Charles preserved Neustria and Aquitaine; Louis, surnamed the Germanic, had all the provinces to the east of the Rhine, besides some towns to the west of that river.

The monarchy threatened on every side.

The end of the civil war only relieved the state from one of many misfortunes. The incursions of the Normans, who will afterwards be taken more particular notice of; the enterprises of the Saracens, who made Italy tremble; the independence of the lords, who, during the last reign, had been accustomed to despise the prince and the laws; the discontent of the clergy, who were exposed to the depredations of the secular nobility; all together prognosticated fatal revolutions, and spread a general alarm.

Famous assembly at Merfen.

In an assembly, held at Merfen on the Maes, the three monarchs settled their common interests; when it was agreed, that the children should inherit the crown of their fathers, provided they paid proper respect to their uncles.

This

This precaution, though insufficient, might be a means for preventing civil wars: but some other regulations established at the same time, gave a wound to the regal authority, which stood in need of being supported. It was agreed, that the vassals should no longer be obliged to follow the king, but in general wars, or in case of foreign invasions, and that every free man might choose whether he would hold of the king or his vassals. By the first article, the vassals were rendered more independent; by the second, more powerful; for many subjects chose rather to depend immediately on a great man, for whose protection they hoped, than on the sovereign, from whom they did not expect so much assistance.

Regulations
pernicious
to the royal
authority.

A few years after, Lothaire died in a monkish habit; a convenient piece of devotion, by which bad princes thought they might purify themselves from their crimes at the hour of death. He had divided his dominions among his sons, and, by virtue of the treaty of Mersen, his last will was executed; in consequence of which, Louis had Italy, with the title of emperor; Lothaire II. the provinces between the Rhone, the Saone, the Maes, the Scheld, and the Rhine; which, from his name, were called the kingdom of Lorraine (*Lotharingia*): and Charles had the kingdom of Provence, between the Rhone, the Mediterranean, and the Alps. These continual divisions split the empire of Charlemagne into a number of petty states; nor was that the most pernicious consequence.

855.
Death of
Lothaire.
Partition of
his dominions
among
his sons.

Disorder

Charles the
Bald acts
imprudently
in dangerous
conjunc-
ture.

Quarrel be-
tween the
clergy and
nobility.

Triumph of
the latter at
Epernai.

Disorder and terror spread universally, chiefly in the states of Charles the Bald, a prince who inherited the weakness of his father, and the turbulent spirit of his mother. The Normans carrying fire and sword into the heart of the kingdom, penetrated to Rouen, and even to the gates of Paris. Young Pepin, son of the last king of Aquitaine, having been forcibly thrust into a monastery, rebelled from a motive of revenge, and joined the pirates. Nomenoe, duke of Bretagne, usurped the title of king; while Charles, instead of taking prudent measures, threw away his time in holding councils, and intermeddled in a dispute on predestination, which had risen between the bishops and monks, thus fomenting intestine discords, and abandoning the state to its enemies. The clergy quarrelled with the nobility, who stripped them of their domains, and reclaimed *the possessions of God*; the *patrimony of the poor*, exposed a prey to robbers, in such a manner, that even abbeys of monks were in the hands of secular women. They threatened, excommunicated, and saw, with horror, that they were held in contempt. On the other side, the nobles vented bitter and loud complaints against the clergy, describing them as authors of the troubles, and enemies to the crown. In a general assembly held at Epernai, from which the clergy were excluded, the secular nobility succeeded so far as to reduce the canons of the last councils to a small number of regulations, solely regarding ecclesiastical discipline. On this occasion, the king committed two great faults; he favoured the nobles, who

who were enemies to the royal authority, and provoked the bishops, who, by their spiritual arms, had it in their power to dethrone a weak monarch.

As incurable evils were every day felt, the spirit of revolt became almost universal. Louis the Germanic was invited by some factious men, to seize his brother's dominions, and invading them at the head of an army, received the homage of the greatest part of the lords. Venilon, archbishop of Sens, was one of the chief and the most active of the conspirators; nor could Charles have escaped destruction, had not the bishops of the provinces of Rouen and Reims refused to follow that example. The celebrated Hincmar wrote, in their name, a letter to the usurper, filled with reproaches, which, notwithstanding, shews less spirit than policy. *When we have seen, say the prelates, whether God hath resolved to save the church by your means, and to put the kingdom under your dominion, we shall endeavour to act under your wise government in the manner we shall judge most expedient; for God can give a good end to what has had a bad beginning.*

Though these expressions do not shew a fidelity proof against all temptation, the prelates of the two provinces did a good deal for the king by not declaring against him. He gained time; assembled an army, and drove out his brother; to whom a deputation of the French clergy then carried severe orders, as if their jurisdiction would extend over Germany. Being summoned by them to submit to penance and the hardest conditions,

858.

Louis the Germanic called in against his brother.

Remarkable letter of Hincmar.

Louis driven out; mandates sent him by the French bishops.

His mean-spirited answer.

conditions, Louis only replied, that he could not take any resolution without consulting the bishops of his kingdom. Thus he gave marks of weakness, even in his resistance.

Trial of
Venelon
archbishop
of Sens,

Request of
king
Charles.

The bishops
thought
themselves
entitled to
dispose of
the crown.

How their
pretensions
gained
strength.

The behaviour of Charles the Bald, with regard to the traitor Venelon, is no less singular. A council being assembled at Savonieres, near Toul, for trying that prelate, the king presented a request against him, containing the following passage: *I ought not to have been deposed, or, at least, not before I had been tried by the bishops who gave me the royal unction; I have always been submissive to their correction, and am ready to submit to it again.* Venelon escaped condemnation by making his peace with the prince; and the bishops of the council obliged themselves, by a canon, to remain united *in order to correct the kings, the grandees, and the people.*

The clergy shewed on every occasion, that they thought they had a right to dispose of the crown; founding their pretension on the privilege of anointing the kings; a ceremony which, though instituted in favour of Pepin, they asserted to be as ancient as the days of Clovis; at the same time that they employed all the arts of sophistry and fiction to make themselves independent, and refused to take the oath of allegiance, *because consecrated hands could not, without abomination, submit themselves to impure hands*; and these pretensions, though so indefensible, gained a firm footing by custom. One step led to another, an abuse established a right; a quibble appeared a divine law. Ignorance authorised every thing; and
what

what was the conclusion naturally to be drawn from the shameful words of that prince, who acknowledged in a council, that the bishops had power to depose him? It must be allowed, that the excesses of the clergy, in a great measure, originated from the blindness and vices of the laity. Our ecclesiastical histories dissemble none of the facts I have mentioned; which is a strong testimony even in favour of the clergy, when they condemn what, in former ages, opinion seemed to have rendered sacred. (*Vid. Fleury, and Hist. de l'Egl. Gallicane*)

C H A P. VI.

Enterprises of the Popes.—Divorce of Lothaire, and its Consequences.—Death of Charles the Bald.

THE success of the bishops in establishing their system of independence, paved the way for that of the Romish court. Sergius II. who succeeded Gregory IV. in 844, having taken possession of the See, without the consent of Lothaire, then emperor; that monarch, in a rage, sent his son, attended by a body of troops and some prelates, to Rome, when the pope, after conducting the prince to the gate of St. Peter, said to him, *I permit you to enter, if your intentions be good; if not, I will not allow you.* He even caused the gates of the city to be shut,

The popes become more independent. Anecdote of Sergius II.

on occasion of some disturbances committed by the French. Complaints were made, and Sergius was summoned before a council, where he appeared and justified himself. Leo IV. celebrated for his brave defence of Rome against the Saracens, and Benedict III. elected notwithstanding Lothaire's opposition, entered into no quarrels with the crowned heads: but Nicholas I. more enterprising than any of his predecessors, arrogated to himself the power of judging kings as well as bishops, and realised the chimerical ideas of the false decretals.

Maxims of
Nicholas I.
in favour of
the papacy
against
crowned
heads.

The maxims contained in his letters, and rendered sacred by his conduct, are, that the Holy See has authority to approve or condemn all writings (whence it would follow, that whatever the popes have written or approved, is true, and whatever they have condemned is false. This would go great lengths); that in all ecclesiastical causes an appeal lay to the pope, and that he might send legates into every kingdom, for the purpose of assembling councils in order to try them; that even, if there was no appeal, they ought to be referred to his judgment (he would then be, properly speaking, the sole judge of the world); that in case of contrariety between the laws and canons, the authority of the latter ought to prevail (which would greatly weaken the legislative power); that princes should be obeyed, provided they observe a proper conduct, and govern as they ought: *Otherwise, says he, they are to be accounted tyrants, rather than kings, and to be resisted, instead of being obeyed by favouring their vices.*

vices. The true sense of this maxim, as it has been often practised, is, that a bad prince, especially a prince who disobeys the church, loses his rights to the crown. Yet St. Peter enjoined obedience to the king as supreme; and he spoke of Nero. But every thing was greatly changed since the days of St. Peter.

An excellent opportunity was presented to the pope, for exercising in France the authority which he arrogated to himself. Lothaire, king of Lorraine, divorced his wife Teutberga, on a false charge of incest. She had first justified herself by the *ordeal* of boiling water, but was afterwards convicted on her own confession, if an involuntary confession, extorted by violence and fear, could be a ground for conviction. By a council held at Aix-la-chapelle, Lothaire was authorised to marry his concubine Valdrada; a match which he eagerly wished; to such dangerous lengths was he hurried by his criminal passion. As the scandal was flagrant, Nicholas took the affair into his own hands, and endeavoured to force the prince to take back his first wife. It was unquestionably this pontiff's duty to admonish and exhort, but could he judge and constrain him?

Till then marriage had been regarded less as a sacrament (though the church considered it in that light) than as the most essential of all civil contracts. The Roman emperors had regulated its conditions, and the Roman laws, which permitted divorce, had continued to be binding long after Constantine; Charlemagne had put away two wives, and no ill consequences had fol-

L 2

lowed;

362.

Lothaire
divorces his
wife, and
marries his
concubine.

Notion of
marriage;
custom of
divorce.

lowed; the councils of Verberie and Compeigne, held in the middle of the eighth century, had even published canons favourable to that practice. So prevalent was the influence of the manners and customs of the age, against the true doctrine of indissolubility of marriage. The pope's attempt then appeared the more extraordinary, as the king's fault was varnished by an ecclesiastical judgment, and Baldwin earl of Flanders, who had ravished a daughter of Charles the Bald, was at that very time protected by the pope.

Nicholas attempts to try the king of Lorraine, &c.

Notwithstanding, Nicholas ordered the bishops to hold a council at Metz, in conjunction with his legates, to which they were to summon Lothaire, and proceed on his trial. The council having confirmed the divorce, contrary to the expectation of the pope, he deposed the bishops of Treves and Cologne, who had been sent to present him with its acts; upon which these prelates laid their complaints before the emperor Louis, who, repairing to Rome, displayed his whole authority, and seemed resolved to check the pontifical power; but falling sick, he was seized with the terrors of superstition, and retired, after having approved the conduct of Nicholas, who grew more imperious than before. Lothaire in vain humbled himself so far, as to promise to come and plead his cause in person. The pope insisted on Valdrada's being dismissed beforehand. At last, Lothaire was threatened by a legate with a prompt excommunication, if he persisted in his disobedience; and this prince being intimidated, not only re-

He continues inflexible notwithstanding every submission.

called Teutberga, but even consented that the legate should take Valdrada to Rome; a kind of triumph which was an indecent insult on the royal dignity. Valdrada escaped while on the road, and in a short time resumed her place of queen and mistress. The unfortunate Teutberga, unable longer to bear the weight of persecution, voluntarily demanded leave to separate from Lothaire, protesting, that her own marriage was null, and Valdrada's legitimate; but nothing could bend Nicholas.

A little before, he had gained a victory over the French clergy, by restoring Rothade of Soissons, who had been deposed by a provincial council. He received the appeals from all the ecclesiastics who were dissatisfied with their bishops; thus accustoming the different nations to acknowledge, as supreme, a tribunal without the limits of their own country, and consequently a foreign dominion. He gave orders for settling the succession of the king of Provence, which Charles the Bald disputed with the emperor Louis, brother to the defunct. *Let no one, these are the terms of his mandate, offer any impediment to the emperor, in the government of the kingdoms which he holds from a succession confirmed by the Holy See, and by the crown, which the sovereign pontiff hath put on his head.*

When the bishops of Treves and Cologne published an invective against him, charging him with aspiring to universal empire, was this expression, though too harsh, entirely without foundation? Nicholas I. may be looked upon as the præcursor of Gregory VII., and, in the

His attempts in other matters.

He is reproached with usurping the empire of the world.

same circumstances, would probably have been guilty of the like excesses. He died in 867.

869.
Lothaire
goes to
Rome in
order to
justify him-
self.

So much had his principles prevailed, that Adrian II. who was a man of more moderation, and a lover of peace, thought he acted with great condescension when he permitted the king of Lorraine to come to Rome, either to justify himself, or receive penance. Charles the Bald, and Louis the Germanic, waited with impatience for the excommunication of their nephew, from a persuasion that they would then have a right to strip him of his dominions. Thus did the blind ambition of princes favour attempts, which they ought to have foreseen might one day be turned against themselves. Lothaire set out, and used every imaginable method to soften the pope. He received the communion from his hand, after having sworn that he had abstained from all criminal correspondence with Valdrada, since the prohibition laid on him by Nicholas, and that he should have none for the future. On his return from Rome he died at Placentia. It was not doubted, that his death was a divine punishment for his perjury; and this accident gave new authority for the trial by the eucharist.

He is ac-
quitted.

His death.

Adrian II.
threatens
the king of
France as an
usurper.

The emperor Louis II. brother of Lothaire, was his lawful heir; but being employed against the Saracens, who were masters of Bari and Tarento, and ravaged Italy, he could not support his rights by force of arms; Adrian, therefore, attempted to supply them, by threatening to excommunicate the usurpers. *The arms which God hath put into our hands, says he in*
his

his letter, *are prepared for his defence.* However, Charles the Bald did not miss the opportunity of seizing upon the succession, and the nobles, especially the bishops of Lorraine, voluntarily submitted. His brother the Germanic had a share in this rich booty.

On this occasion, the famous Hincmar of Reims addressed a spirited remonstrance to the pope, in which he puts him in mind of the respect and obedience paid to crowned heads by the ancient popes, at the same time representing to him, that his dignity gives him no title to claim the government of states; that he could not at once be bishop and king; that it is the privilege of the people to choose their sovereigns; that anathemas, when misapplied, have no spiritual force; that *free* men will not suffer themselves to be enslaved by a bishop of Rome, &c.

Famous letter of Hincmar to the pope.

Adrian, far from yielding to those reasons, vented his resentment both against the king and Hincmar. He sided with Carloman, son of Charles the Bald, a deacon and abbot of several monasteries, who had rebelled and headed a gang of robbers; ordered the king to restore his lands and honours; and prohibited the subjects, under pain of damnation, from bearing arms against him: from the same spirit of animosity, he declared in favour of the bishop of Laon, Hincmar's nephew, who was at variance both with the sovereign and his uncle. But, at last, the pope changed his language as circumstances varied. Seeing the inutility of his threats, and being desirous of gaining the king of France, because the emperor was at the

Attempt of Adrian against Charles the Bald.

The pope at last publicly flatters Charles.

point of death, he wrote a letter to Charles, in which he loaded him with praises, expressed the greatest admiration of his piety and wisdom, and promised to acknowledge no other emperor, though he should be tempted with bushels of gold. This is the last letter written by Adrian II. a man equally enterprising with Nicholas, but less obstinate, and a more artful politician.

875.
John VIII.
confers the
empire on
that prince.

His successor John VIII. executed his project in favour of Charles. The emperor being deceased, without leaving any male children, and Louis the Germanic seeming to draw near his end, after which, his kingdom would be weakened by being divided among his three sons; Charles the Bald, who had but one heir of his body, seemed most capable of protecting the court of Rome; and this circumstance insured him the preference. He therefore passed the Alps with an army, and received the imperial crown as a gift from the pontiff, and, in an assembly at Pavia, was acknowledged by the bishops, abbots, and nobles of Italy, in the following terms: *Whereas the divine goodness, by the merits of the holy apostles, and by their vicar his holiness John, hath raised you to the empire, according to the judgment of the Holy Spirit, we unanimously elect you for our protector and lord.* The consequences which may easily be drawn from these formularies, make them highly worthy of notice.

Form of his
being ac-
knowledged
by the Ita-
lians.

He endea-
vours to
establish a
vicar in
France.

Charles, who had been lavish of his treasures, and in a manner purchased the empire, brought with him a mandate from the pope, creating the archbishop of Sens vicar of the Holy See, with

with power to assemble councils and regulate affairs: this order he used his utmost endeavours to carry into execution at the council of Ponthyon; but he could obtain from the convocation only this answer, *We will obey the pope according to the rules, as our predecessors obeyed his.* Hincmar of Reims and the other bishops, at least on some occasions, knew how to defend the liberty of their churches. A vicar of the pope would soon have become their master.

After the death of Louis the Germanic, Charles the Bald, always ambitious and imprudent, wanted to seize part of the succession, but gained nothing except a shameful defeat. His three nephews, Carloman, Louis, and Charles, preserved their inheritance. The first had Bavaria, the second Saxony, and the third Suabia.

Charles endeavours to seize the dominions of the sons of his brother Louis the Germanic.

While the whole empire was thus dismembered and weakened, the Saracens continued their incursions, and plundered Comacchio; when pope John summoned the emperor to his assistance, calling upon him to remember the hand which gave him the empire, *lest*, added he, *if you drive us to despair, you perhaps make us change our sentiments.* This threat, which was very plain, had its full effect. Though France was over-run by a deluge of Normans, whom Charles was unable to resist, he undertook an expedition against the Saracens; but scarce was he arrived in Italy, when he received news, that his nephew Carloman was on his march to deprive him of the imperial crown; upon which, he was abandoned by his lords,

and

877.
Called to assist the pope against the Saracens.

Charles dies in Italy.

and obliged to fly; when, being seized with a distemper, he died in a cottage, at the age of fifty-four.

A capitulary making fiefs hereditary.

By a capitulary, established in the last year of his reign, the nobles were permitted to transmit their employments to their sons or relations. This is one of the principal foundations of the feudal government, which was established on the ruins of the regal power. But from the time of Charlemagne's death, every thing tended to anarchy. I shall only add here, that, the nation being divided, the lay lords forming one party, the ecclesiastics another, while the people were without influence, and the royal authority was unable to balance the contending parties, the whole kingdom was unavoidably torn by intestine convulsions.

C H A P. VII.

Incurfions of the Normans into France and England.—Reign of Alfred the Great.

General idea of the Normans.

HITHERTO we have only hinted at the enterprises of the Normans, whose piratical incurfions infested Europe, and were a prelude to new revolutions. It is of some importance to form an idea of their character, and their sanguinary expeditions. The name of Normans (men of the North) was given to the inhabitants of ancient Scandinavia, at present Sweden

Sweden and Norway, to which we must add Denmark. From those countries originated several German nations, which settled in the Roman empire. These tribes preserved the Celtic manners, which were the same as the Scythian, simple, hardy, ferocious, and calculated for making them dreadful conquerors. Their religion corresponded with their manners. Their supreme god was Odin, named by the Saxons Woden, whom they described as *the terrible god, the author of devastation, the father of carnage, the incendiary, &c.* Human victims were sacrificed to him; his rewards were believed to be reserved for those who slew the greatest number of warriors in battle; the happiness to which they aspired was, to intoxicate themselves with beer in his hall. The skulls of their slain enemies were the precious cups which were to be used in their eternal carousals.

Their savage religion.

Their notions of the happiness of another life.

How was it possible for innumerable nations to transform the father of nature, the infinitely good being, into a sanguinary and destroying tyrant? The reason is, that, men immersed in ignorance, form a divinity according to their own taste, and ascribe to him the same passions with themselves. If any of these Barbarians reasoned, he must inevitably plunge into atheism, as he could not but reject monstrous opinions, and had no idea of a pure and infinite spirit. Accordingly, we find a warrior saying to Olaus, a christian king of Sweden, in the eleventh century, *My comrades and I place con-*
fidence

Those who attempted to reason fell into atheism.

fidence only in our own strength; that is our sole religion, and, in our opinion, all that is necessary.

Their principles and emigrations.

The grand principle of the Celtæ, particularly the Scandinavians, was, that force made the foundation of right, and that victory was a proof of justice. They referred every thing to war, by the spirit of which they were solely animated, and hastened from one expedition to another in order to amass booty. Hence those frequent emigrations, falsely attributed to excessive population (for arts and cultivation were almost utterly unknown among them); emigrations which only proceeded from their daring rapacity, and which necessarily drained these savage countries of inhabitants.

Their courage inherited by the women.

Fatigues, wounds, and arms, were in some measure sports of their infancy and youth. Even the name of fear was prohibited to be mentioned in the most dreadful dangers. The women, as well as the men, despised death; to which they not only submitted with intrepidity, but frequently affected to meet it with marks of joy. Their education, prejudices, and manners, the examples that were set them, and their being inured to suffering, all contributed to conquer nature. They only wanted military discipline to insure to them the conquest of polished nations. By that alone Marius had triumphed over the Cimbri, who came from the neighbourhood of Scandinavia; but, in the times we speak of, there were no Romans existing.

Contempt of death.

Charle-

Charlemagne prevented the irruptions of the Normans, by establishing a naval force, which guarded the mouths of the rivers. Under Louis Debonnaire, they spread an alarm in France, and under Charles the Bald committed dreadful ravages. Their fleets, which consisted of small light vessels, braved the storms of the ocean, and penetrated into every quarter. They laid waste the coasts, and made their way into the heart of the provinces; nor was it possible to stop their progress. The government was incapable of taking any precaution, and the people, having no protector, sunk under their fears. The steps of those robbers were every where marked with blood and fire. With the booty, they carried off their children, whom they made pirates, and thus supplied the loss of population. Scarce had they withdrawn, when they returned with new forces. In short, they twice pillaged Rouen, surprised and burnt Paris in 845, laid waste Aquitaine and other provinces with fire and sword, and reduced the king to the last extremities.

Irruptions of the Normans after the time of Charlemagne.

Their ravages.

Charles intrenched himself at St. Denis, while his capital fell a prey to the Barbarians; and neither he, nor the people, thought of any thing but securing the relics. Instead of fighting, he purchased, or believed he purchased, a peace, for seven thousand pounds weight of silver; which was furnishing the enemy with the means, and inflaming them with the desire of soon renewing the war. They disregarded their oaths, and the miracles since related by the monks made little impression on them. A

Peace purchased by Charles the Bald.

Norman

Norman captain plundering the church of St. Germain, according to the monastic chronicles, was miraculously thrown down, and cried out, that the saint was stunning him with blows. However, his countrymen still continued their depredations, of which the churches were a principal object.

Tax levied
for a contri-
bution to the
Normans.

To complete the disgrace, Charles the Bald, when he marched to assist the pope in the last year of his reign, published a capitulary, settling the contributions that should be paid to the Normans. Noblemen were taxed a penny per house; freemen and *serfs* in proportion; and the bishops were commanded to make their priests contribute. These were the arms used by the king and the nation for their defence. The Saracens of Spain acted with more spirit, and forced the pirates who attacked them to retire.

England
likewise ra-
vaged.

If England felt the same scourge, she found a saviour in a great prince. Under Ethelwolf, successor of Egbert, the Danes committed many ravages, because the king neglected the cares of government for the practices of devotion. Three of his sons reigned after him, in a manner equally inglorious. But happily, their younger brother Alfred mounted the throne in 871; a man who seemed a prodigy in that age of horrors. He constantly kept an army on foot against the Danes, and had gained several victories over them; but new swarms of pirates coming incessantly to join the former, his troops were discouraged, and abandoned him: he was therefore obliged to disguise him-
self

Alfred
mounts the
throne in
871.

His misfor-
tunes.

self like a peasant, and lived for some months in the house of a shepherd; after which he fortified himself in a morass, and from thence made incursions on the enemy, watching an opportunity to vanquish them.

At last, receiving news, that an English nobleman had beaten the Danes in a rencounter, he quitted his retreat, dressed himself like a harper, entered their camp with security, amused and deceived them, examined every part of it, was witness to their neglect of discipline and blind confidence, formed the plan of an attack, and withdrew to put it in execution. Soon after, he gave notice where he was, and assembled his best subjects, who thought him dead. Multitudes flocked to his standard, and, having defeated the Danes, he formed a scheme to convert them into subjects; with which view, he gave them permission to settle in Northumberland and East Anglia (which had been reduced to a desert), on condition that they embraced Christianity. This mild policy seemed the best that could be pursued in his circumstances. The savage manners of the pirates might be softened by the practice of agriculture and the influence of religion; they might become the defenders of a state where they had a fixed settlement, and would naturally love and respect a beneficent monarch, who had made them sensible of his valour and his resources. All the conditions were complied with, and England, at last, had time to breathe.

The matter most essential being to prevent new disasters, Alfred contrived the means, and

How he defeated the Danes,

He permits them to settle in the dispeopled provinces,

Wisdom of his government.

put them in execution. He repaired the fortifications, cantoned regular troops in the provinces, formed a considerable fleet in a short time, exercised the English in navigation, which they had before neglected, governed with the utmost prudence and equity, and paid unremitting attention to the wants of the public. These were the first fruits of the peace, and pledges of security and victory. A dreadful irruption of the Danes, in 895, renewed the misfortunes of France, but to England it was only a fleeting storm, Alfred soon scattering the enemy.

His regulations for the exercise of justice and maintenance of good order.

He dedicated the rest of his reign to political objects, worthy of his genius and elevated soul. He perfected the laws, administered justice in person, and caused it to be administered by others; established the *juries* for trying criminals (it is on the verdict of these *juries*, who are the *peers* of the accused, that the judges pass sentence), and divided the kingdom into counties, the counties into *hundreds* and *decennaries*, or small districts, in such a manner, that order, harmony, and subordination, were easily maintained. As the law exerted its authority over every individual, public liberty was established. It was the desire of Alfred, to secure the freedom of the English by enforcing the laws; he obeyed them himself, and by that obedience secured his power.

He encourages and cultivates learning.

As knowledge, which enlightens the reason in order to form the manners, appeared to him one of the most proper means for making his subjects happy, he drew learned men to his court, established schools, founded the famous university

university of Oxford, and constantly rewarded merit. He encouraged application to learning by his own example, and wrote a treatise of morality: neither arts, agriculture, nor commerce, in short, nothing escaped the active zeal by which he was animated, and he scattered on every side the seeds of happiness and virtue. Unhappily, too many obstacles prevented them from taking root, and they were almost entirely destroyed under the following reigns. This monarch, so highly worthy of admiration, and perhaps superior to Charlemagne, died in 901, at the age of fifty-three.

His death.

CHAP. VIII.

Total Decay of the French Empire.

THE continent of Europe presents us only with scenes of calamity, disorder, and anarchy. We see Louis the Stammerer, son of Charles the Bald, in a manner purchase the crown, on the terms insolently prescribed to him by the bishops and secular lords. He was not acknowledged, till after he had promised to the first, that the clergy should be maintained in possession of the wealth and exercise of the privileges which they enjoyed under Louis the Debonnaire. Hincmar of Reims had exacted a similar promise from Charles the Bald. The

Louis the Stammerer in a manner enslaved by his subjects.

VOL. I.

M

sovereigns

sovereigns found themselves obliged to come to a composition with subjects, who were too regardless of the public weal.

878.
John VIII.
though a
fugitive,
commands
in France.

John VIII. came and held a council at Troyes in Champagne, in order to excommunicate Lambert duke of Spoleto, and Adalbert duke of Tuscany, who attacked the ecclesiastical state. A canon of this council bears, *That the secular powers shall never have the boldness to sit in presence of the bishops, unless they be commanded.* This fugitive pope, while in France, enacted general laws, affected to dictate to the sovereigns, crowned the king, and demanded succours under pain of divine vengeance : barely to hint at these circumstances, will sufficiently enable us to judge of the state of the monarchy.

Boson made
king of Pro-
vence by a
council.

Louis the Stammerer was succeeded, in 879, by Louis III. and Carloman, two sons by a former wife, whom he had divorced. Duke Boson, Carloman's father-in-law, procured them the crown ; they shared the government, and lived in amity, but, notwithstanding, the kingdom was dismembered by the subjects. A council held at Manté, in Dauphiné, gave, *by divine inspiration* (these are the express words), the kingdom of Arles, or Provence, to that duke Boson ; an ambitious, artful nobleman, who, having gained the pope and clergy by his intrigues, easily prevailed on them to betray the house of Charlemagne. Carloman, king of Bavaria, was master of Italy, and besides, caused a part of Lorraine to be ceded to him. The greatest part of the royal domain was already in the

Dismem-
berments.

hands of the lords, and a king of France possessed almost nothing.

After the death of the two sons of Louis the Stammerer, who had been thus plundered of their possessions, the right of inheritance devolved by the order of succession on their brother Charles, afterwards surnamed the Simple; but, as he was only five years of age, and the circumstances required a king capable of resisting the enemy, the election fell upon Charles the Fat, son of Louis the Germanic, who had already succeeded to the empire, and inherited the dominions of his two brothers. Thus the whole French empire, excepting the dominions of the usurper Boson, was again united under one head; but that head, destitute of genius and courage, was unequal to the management of such extensive territories. Charles had dishonoured himself by purchasing the retreat of the Normans, whose fury was likewise felt by the Germans. After making a cession of Friesland, and promising to pay them a tribute, he irritated them by an act of treachery, at the same time that he shewed himself contemptible by his want of spirit. They now fell upon France with greater fury than ever; penetrated as far as Pontoise, burnt that town, and afterwards besieged Paris.

This siege is celebrated in history: both sides performed wonders. Eudes count of Paris, whom we shall afterwards see upon the throne, his brother Robert, the bishop Goslin, and after him the bishop Anscheric, and the abbot Eble, Goslin's nephew, particularly signalised their

884.
The emperor Charles the Fat elected king of France.

The Normans irritated by his perfidy and meanness of spirit.

886.
Famous siege of Paris.

their valour and courage. The besieged held out upwards of a year, and Charles did not make his appearance.

Charles
bribes the
enemy to
retire.

Being called to the relief of his capital, he at last arrived at the head of a numerous army; but though almost sure of victory, he had not the courage to venture an engagement, and rather chose to enter into a disgraceful negotiation, by which he obliged himself to pay the enemy seven hundred thousand pounds weight of silver, and permitted them to march into Burgundy, in order to wait for the payment of the money; that is, to continue their ravages.

Church of
St. Germain
pillaged.

The Normans had converted the monastery of St. Germain into stables, and extorted from the monks fourteen hundred merks of silver to ransom themselves from the flames. The monks afterwards attributed to this saint the deliverance of Paris.

Revolts
against
Charles.

In Ger-
many.

All the nations of the French empire were filled with indignation at the emperor's infamous conduct, and breathed only the spirit of revolt. The Germans first took up arms. Charles had excited the resentment of the nobility of that country, by endeavouring to abolish the hereditary fiefs, and drawn upon himself the hatred of the bishops, by prosecuting Luitward bishop of Verceil, his prime minister, on a charge of criminal correspondence with the empress. This prelate stirred up the malecontents, and the emperor was deposed in a diet; after which, he was reduced to depend for his subsistence on the liberalities of the bishop of Mentz, and Arnolph, a natural son of Carloman, king of Bavaria,

varia, was elected his successor. Italy submitted to Berengerius, duke of Friuli, and Guy duke of Spoleto; both descended from the royal family of France by the mother's side, and both formerly friends; but they became rivals, and tore that country in pieces by their mutual wars.

In Italy.

Count Eudes, who had saved Paris, and whose father Robert the Strong, duke of France, had likewise distinguished himself by his heroism, was elected king; but seemed to accept the crown only as tutor to Charles the Simple. These great men were the ancestors of Hugh Capet, first king of the third race.

In France.

Eudes elected king.

Besides the continual usurpations of the nobles, France was weakened by new dismemberments, notwithstanding the courage and abilities of the famous Eudes. A party starting up in favour of the lawful heir, Eudes ceded to him a share of the kingdom. Count Raoul, or Rodolph, erected the kingdom of Burgundy Transjurana, in which were comprehended Bugei, Savoy, Geneva, and part of Switzerland. The name of Burgundy Cisjurana (from its situation with respect to Mount Jura) was given to the kingdom of Arles, which was confirmed by a council to the son of Boson, as it had been granted by a council to the father. History would become a mere chaos, were it to enter into a detail of the events produced by violence and artifice in this state of anarchy, during which fiefs were incessantly wrested from the crown.

He divides the kingdom with Charles the Simple.

Kingdom of Burgundy Transjurana.

912.
Charles the
Simple
grants a set-
tlement to
the Nor-
mans.

Rollo duke
of Norman-
dy.

Eudes died in 898, without being able to cure the wounds of the state; and Charles the Simple, who too well deserved the surname, could only increase them by his weakness. The nobles, who all aspired to independence, were inveterate enemies to each other, and the Normans seized the opportunity of securing an establishment. Rollo, one of their most distinguished chiefs, after having struck terror into England, invaded France, made himself master of Rouen, and converted it into a place of arms. He became so formidable, that the king offered him his daughter in marriage, with the maritime country which was laid waste by the pirates. A bishop, who was charged with the negotiation, only required the Norman to turn Christian, and discoursed to him on the torments of hell and the joys of paradise. Rollo was determined by his interest. After having consulted his soldiers, to whom religion was a matter of indifference, he promised to conclude the treaty, on condition that Bretagne should likewise be ceded to him until the other province was cultivated. This was agreed to, and he paid homage to the crown, rather like a conqueror than a vassal.

He makes
his subjects
happy.

This warrior was worthy of founding a state. Normandy, which took its name from the pirates, became happy, and flourished under his laws. He conquered the ferocity of his people, and made them apply to agriculture, instead of piracy; in a word, he entirely put an end to robbery among the Barbarians, who were accustomed to live by rapine. So great is the power
of

of the laws, when agriculture inspires a relish for social life! In the same manner had the destroyers of the Roman empire given permanency to their power.

The weak Charles, governed by Haganon, an odious minister, was equally despised by the nobility and the Normans. Robert, brother of king Eudes, formed a conspiracy against him; when Charles, instead of assembling an army, had recourse to a council, and caused those who should revolt to be excommunicated beforehand. The rebellion, after being some time suspended, broke out again in 922, when Charles was constrained to dismiss his minister; on which condition the malecontents promised to obey him another year. But at the end of seven months the archbishop of Reims, who had granted him an asylum in his diocese, turned traitor, and crowned Robert. The new king was slain in a battle; and his son Hugh the Great, or the Abbot, though he might have mounted the throne, chose rather to bestow it upon Rodolph duke of Burgundy, who gained over the great lords by profuse donations of his domains.

Revolt
against king
Charles.

He is de-
prived of his
dominions
and de-
throned.

Herbert Count de Veronandois had decoyed Charles, under pretence of undertaking his defence, and kept him prisoner. He afterwards restored him to liberty; but it was to betray him anew, on consideration of the county of Laon, which was ceded to him by Rodolph. The same year Charles died in prison.

929.
He dies in
prison.

Under his deplorable reign, the house of France lost Germany, with the empire. Pope

Revolutions
in Italy.

Berengerius
remains
king.

The house
of France
no longer
sovereign
of Germany.

Conrad
duke of
Franconia
elected
king.

Ravages of
the Huns,
or Hunga-
rians.

Stephen VI. had set the imperial crown on the head of Guy duke of Spoleto, the enemy of Berengerius, and afterwards bestowed it on Lambert, son of that ambitious duke. Pope Formosus had crowned Arnolph, the natural son of Carloman, after having engaged him to seize Rome. Louis IV. son of Arnolph, a child only seven years of age, had succeeded him in the sovereignty of Germany. Another Louis, king of Arles, son of the usurper Boson, had obliged Benedict IV. to crown him emperor: but Berengerius surprised him at Verona, put out his eyes, and again ascended the throne of Italy. These revolutions were a prelude to others of greater importance.

After the death of Louis IV., in 911, Charles the Simple was rightful heir of Germany; but the Germans despised him too much to acknowledge him, and he was too weak even to claim the succession. The states unanimously chose Otho duke of Saxony; who refusing the crown, on account of his advanced age, proposed Conrad duke of Franconia: Conrad was therefore raised to the sovereignty of Germany by the suffrages of the nation. Berengerius, king of Italy, was crowned emperor, in 916, by pope John X. Thus was the posterity of Charlemagne successively stripped of all the acquisitions that hero had made by his policy and victories, because none of them had shewn themselves worthy of him.

The calamities under which Europe had so long groaned, were renewed by an unforeseen scourge. The emperor Arnolph had called in
the

the Huns, or Hungarians, to assist him against the king of Moravia, and throw down the fortifications constructed by Charlemagne along the Raab, in order to stop their incursions. Equally ferocious with their ancestors, they were in a short time the destroyers of their allies. In the year 901 they ravaged Bavaria, Suabia, and Franconia, and all Germany afterwards became a prey to their rapacious fury. Louis IV. having submitted to pay a yearly tribute, in order to get rid of them, they fell upon Italy, and repeatedly pillaged it. In the reign of Conrad I. they again spread devastation in Germany; and he in like manner became their tributary. They penetrated into Lorraine, and even into Languedoc, plundering the country, massacring the inhabitants, and sparing nothing.

We must not be surprised, that so many miseries gave birth to fanaticism. The end of the world was universally believed to be at hand, and all stripped themselves of their possessions to bestow them on churches and monasteries. Disorders multiplied among the lower ranks of people, the clergy, the nobility, and in the governments. A perversion of reason, and the most profound ignorance, form the characteristics of the tenth century; consequently acts of atrocious wickedness were common; for there was no longer any curb to the passions.

After the death of Radolph, Hugh the Great, who possessed several rich abbeys, with the county of Paris, and the duchies of France and Burgundy, again slighted the title of king, or dreaded being looked upon as an usurper. He therefore

Miseries accompanied by fanaticism.

936.
King Louis
d'Outremer
made prisoner by Hugh
the Great.

therefore recalled Louis d'Outremer, son of Charles the Simple, who had taken refuge in England, to which he had been carried by his mother during the troubles. This king was merely nominal, like many others. He was desirous of governing; but Hugh then became his enemy, put him under confinement, and did not restore his liberty till he ceded the county of Laon, which was almost the sole remainder of the royal domain.

Singular
and unfor-
tunate
events.

Otho I. of Saxony, who succeeded his father Henry the Fowler in the throne of Germany, mediated a peace between the sovereign and the vassal. Hugh had been excommunicated by several councils, and even by the pope. The bishops of Lorraine had sent an army to the assistance of Louis; and another war of several years continuance was kindled on the subject of the archbishopric of Reims, which count Vermendois had procured for his son, who was only five years of age, that he might enjoy it himself in that infant's name. History only presents us with a chaos of extravagances and depredations.

954.
Louis suc-
ceeded by
Lothaire.

Louis d'Outremer, at his death, left a shadow of authority to his son Lothaire; or rather Hugh the Great was pleased to grant him the title, while he reserved the power to himself. This nobleman, who was as formidable as the ancient mayors, died two years after; leaving his son Hugh Capet heir to his abbeys, his dignities, and his power. Lothaire wanted neither activity nor courage, and undertook to recover Lorraine, of which the kings of Germany had made

made themselves masters. Let us here anticipate a remark, that the emperor Otho II. had the address to oppose a competitor to him, by making a cession of Lower Lorraine to the king's brother Charles, who received it from Otho as a fief. Lothaire, discontented with this treaty, invaded Lorraine, surprised the emperor, and put him to flight: he was afterwards beaten in his turn, but gained the victory in a third battle. At last he renounced his pretensions to the kingdom of Lorraine, which continued to be shared between Otho and prince Charles. The fortune of the Othos will now claim our attention, and deserves to make an Epoch.

He loses the kingdom of Lorraine.

THIRD

SECOND EPOCH.

He took the
kingdom of
Lorraine.

made themselves masters. Let us here notice
give a remark, that the emperor Otto II. had
the address to oppose a competitor to him, by
making a cession of Lower Lorraine to the king's
brother Charles, who received it from Otto as
a fief. Lorraine, disgusted with this treaty,
invaded Lorraine, expelled the emperor, and
one day to fight: he was afterwards beaten in
his turn, but gained the victory in a third
battle. At last he renounced his pretensions to
the kingdom of Lorraine, which continued to
be shared between Otto and prince Charles.
The fortune of the Otto's will now claim our
attention, and deserves to make an Epoch.

THIRD

THIRD EPOCH.

Otho the Great. The Empire transferred to the Germans. France subjected to the House of Capet.

[From the Middle of the Tenth Century till the Time of Gregory VII.]

CHAP. I.

The House of Saxony rises to Royalty and the Empire.—Reigns of the Othos.

A Formidable power had risen in Germany, and united the imperial with the royal dignity. This is the proper place for considering that new revolution. Conrad, duke of Franconia, as was before related, had been elected king, upon the refusal and by the advice of the duke of Saxony. This monarch died in 919 without issue male, after recommending to the states for his successor Henry, son of the duke Otho, to whom he owed the crown; and the states, composed of *the clergy, the principal nobility, and chief officers of the army*, actually elected Henry the Fowler (he had this surname from his fondness for the diversion of hawking). This valiant and prudent prince subdued the rebellious

Henry the Fowler, duke of Saxony, elected sovereign by the states.

rebellious vassals, disciplined the troops, built fortresses and cities, refused to pay tribute to the Hungarians, cut them in pieces, and put his dominions in a state of security.

He styles himself *avoué* of Rome, though the troops had named him emperor.

Though his troops had conferred upon him the title of Emperor, we do not find that he ever assumed it. In a public deed, dated 932, he styles himself only *Avoué* of Rome; *i. e.* protector of the temporalities of the Romish See; a title which ordinarily denoted an officer of the church.

Otho I. the greatest prince of his age.

Otho I., his son, was elected his successor by the states in 936. This sovereign quelled several rebellions, made Denmark and Bohemia tributary, and became the greatest prince of his age.

Revolutions and troubles in Italy.

Italy, divided among a number of tyrants who were at variance with each other, torn by factions and continual wars, perpetually exposed to the inroads of the Saracens, who were masters of part of it, was one of the most unhappy countries in Europe. Raoul or Rodolphus II., king of the two Burgundies, Transjurana and Cisjurana, had dethroned Berengerius, and been himself dethroned by Hugh Marquis of Provence, whose son Lothaire was treated in the same manner by Berengerius II.

The Italians were too fond of changing masters.

The Italians were never contented with their king, and every change increased their calamities. The divisions were fomented by some vicious popes, who suffered themselves to be guided by loose women. Strangers were called into Italy; the people in a manner courted the yoke, in order to free themselves from oppressors,

preffors, repented, refused obedience, and made kings by chance. Revolutions are ordinarily the fruits of discord; accordingly these troubles procured the empire to the Germans.

In 952 Otho passed into Italy at the instance of Adelaide, widow of king Lothaire, who was kept prisoner in a castle by Berengerius II.; freed this princess, and married her; received the fealty of Berengerius, whom he left in possession of his kingdom, and then set out to quell a rebellion in Germany. Rome had shut her gates, but some years after they were opened to him by a pope.

Otho II.
leaves Be-
rengerius II.
in possession
of the king-
dom of
Italy.

John XII. had been raised to the papacy at the age of eighteen. He was the grandson of the famous Marozie, concubine of Sergius III., and to the corrupt manners of his age added a bold and enterprising spirit. The tyranny of Berengerius and his son Adalbert exciting an universal spirit of revolt, that pontiff conjured Otho, *for the love of God and the holy Apostles, to come and deliver the Roman church from the claws of two monsters who were tearing it in pieces.* The king of Germany complied with his intreaties. Berengerius and his son were deposed, and Otho crowned king of Italy at Milan. The following year he was crowned emperor at Rome by John XII., and confirmed the donations of the French princes, which were of the utmost importance to the papacy.

961.
Recalled by
John XII.
against Be-
rengerius.

He is
crowned
king and
emperor.

The pope soon forgot his engagements, entered into a confederacy with Adalbert against the emperor, and even raised a body of troops; but finding that he was too weak to resist, betook

The pope
betrays him.

John is deposed, and prevails on the Romans to revolt.

Notions entertained of that people.

964.
Otho I.
forces Rome
to submit.

Famous
decree of
Leo VIII.

betook himself to flight. The Romans again swore allegiance to Otho, binding themselves, by the same oath, not to elect nor consecrate any pope without the consent of the emperor or his son. John was prosecuted in a council on a charge of enormous crimes; he was summoned twice, but answered only by threats of excommunication; however, he was at last deposed, and Leo VIII., a private layman of virtuous life, elected in his room. The deposed pontiff did not lose courage: he prevailed upon the Romans to revolt, entered the city, and held a council, in which Leo was deposed in his turn; nor did John's sudden death put an end to the sedition. Benedict V. was elected in his room, for the Romans thought no more of their oath. According to Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, a cotemporary author, and native of Lombardy, that people was then so much contemned, though still haughty, that every treacherous, cowardly, infamous fellow was styled a Roman.

Such audacious behaviour to a great prince produced the consequences ordinarily attendant upon injudicious attempts. Otho, who a little before had made Berengerius prisoner in Montefeltro, besieged Rome and reduced it to extremity; but the inhabitants submitted, and obtained their pardon. Benedict appeared before a council, confessed himself a criminal, and stripped off his pontifical robes. Leo VIII., with *the whole body of the clergy and people of Rome*, made a celebrated decree, which is looked upon as a fundamental law of the empire, bearing, "that Otho and his successors in the
" kingdom

“ kingdom of Italy shall perpetually enjoy the
 “ power of choosing for themselves a successor,
 “ naming the pope, and granting investiture to
 “ the bishops.”

Muratori and some others have controverted the authenticity of this decree, an extract of which is found in Gratian; but it has been observed, that though the form may be false, yet the substance of it may be true, as Luitprand gives the same account conformably to the act itself. “ The collection of Golbastus,” says Mr. Pfeffel, “ is filled with similar laws “ and constitutions, the substance of which is “ incontestibly true, and yet they are plain “ forgeries.”

If that decree be counterfeit.

Scarce had the emperor quitted Italy, when the Romans mutinied and drove out John XIII., who had been elected in presence of the imperial commissioners after the death of Leo VIII. Otho, justly provoked, returned a fourth time, and severely punished the seditious. He banished the consuls, hanged the tribunes, and caused the governor of Rome to be whipped through the streets. We see that the ancient dignities still subsisted nominally; vain food for the pride of a people equally weak and turbulent.

New revolt of the Romans punished.

Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, had acknowledged Otho's title, and betrothed his daughter to the German emperor's son; notwithstanding which, he caused the ambassadors to be assassinated who were to conduct the princess. War was then kindled; the Germans attacked La Puglia and Calabria; a Greek army

969.
War of Otho against the Greeks.

was beaten, and the noses of the prisoners cut off; after which they were sent back to Constantinople. Nicephorus having been murdered by his subjects, John Zimisces, his successor, concluded peace with Otho, ceding to him the lordship of Capua. Otho died in 973. His surname of Great was not the homage of flattery, but a tribute to his merit.

His death.

He was an imitator of Charlemagne.

He made the clergy too powerful.

Hereditary fiefs established.

This prince, who imitated Charlemagne in his enterprises, like him too was a lover of letters; and by the persuasion of his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, he formed the scheme of establishing a kind of academy. Like Charlemagne, he had very much at heart the conversion of the barbarians, whom he was desirous of subduing, and founded several bishoprics in the North, where christianity was shooting forth branches. Whether it was owing to the devotion then in vogue, or to bad policy, he made the clergy of Germany too powerful, by bestowing on them duchies and counties, with the privileges of the other lords or princes. But to counterbalance this power, he established *avouées*, who were to be named by the emperor, and share the government with the prelates. But we shall soon find them rid themselves of these *avouées*. Otho, like Charlemagne, either did not see clearly enough into futurity, or was hurried away by circumstances.

Hereditary fiefs, another source of disorders, were almost universally established in Germany. The emperor caused one of the most important questions that can exercise the sagacity of civil-
lians

lians to be decided by a duel: it was, whether representation ought to proceed in a direct line; if, for example, a grandson, being the representative of the son, ought to succeed in preference to his uncles. The claim of the nephews prevailed, because their champion was victorious, and the law still subsists. In the following reign it was ordained by a diet, that doubtful causes should no longer be determined by oath, but by duel. At least, cowards lost the advantage which they might draw from perjury.

Right of
representa-
tion
decided by a
duel.

Otho II. was only eighteen years of age when he succeeded his father, who had caused him to be elected in 961; a precaution necessary for securing the crown in one family. His youth tempted some rebellions, which he had strength enough to dissipate. Rome, by the commission of new crimes, opened a theatre for the display of his justice. Crescentius or Cincius, son of the unchaste Theodora, who is said to have been concubine of John X., having formed the project of re-establishing the Roman republic, stirred up the people, and threw Benedict VI. into prison, where he perished, upon which the factious elected Benedict VII. Another faction elected Boniface VII.; and a third John XIV., who was murdered by Boniface. These crimes succeeded each other with such rapidity, that historians differ both in names and dates. He who is styled pope by one is called antipope by others.

973.
Otho II.

Troubles of
Rome.

Great num-
ber of popes
and anti-
popes.

In the last epocha I spoke of the war with France for the kingdom of Lorraine, which

The empe-
ror dies in
Italy.

Otho, by a judicious stroke of policy, shared with king Lothaire's brother. After the conclusion of this war, the emperor paid a visit to Rome, and quelled the seditious. He afterwards attempted to wrest Calabria from the Greeks; but the Saracens, who were in alliance with them, cut his army in pieces. He died at Rome, where he was making new preparations.

983.
Crescentius
renews the
revolts at
Rome.

His son Otho III, who was already elected, succeeded him at the age of three years. The grandmother and mother disputed the authority with each other, and Germany was vexed with a tempestuous regency. Factions were soon renewed at Rome, where the popes and clergy acted in the same scandalous manner as before; and Crescentius kindled a general conflagration by his fanatic zeal for liberty. John XV. called in the emperor, and Otho appeared in Italy in 996. The pope being dead, he substituted in his place Gregory V., a near relation of his own, by whom he caused himself to be crowned. Crescentius did not fail to drive out this pontiff, and substituted another under the name of John XVI., still persuading the Romans that they were free.

At last pu-
nished by
Otho III.

But in 998 Otho entered Rome, besieged the castle of St. Angelo, in which the rebel had shut himself up, carried it by assault, or, according to others, entered it by capitulation, and, in short, cut off the head of Crescentius. The Romans had put out their antipope's eyes. Gregory V. carried his revenge so far as to make him ride through the streets on an ass, with

with the animal's tail in his hand. We may judge of the manners of the people by those of the heads of the church, who, unhappily hurried away by the torrent of that perverse age, gave them the strength of contagious example.

We here tread the thorny paths of history. Objects are confounded, they have no distinguishing features, and offer us almost no interesting detail; which obliges us only to hint the principal facts till we meet with events, a particular narration of which will be more pleasing. These first steps are necessary to conduct us into the plains enriched by culture. We shall constantly find in our way some fruits fit to be gathered, and then particulars will become useful.

Barrenness
of history.

CHAP. II.

Hugh Capet dethrones Charlemagne's Posterity in France.—Robert.—Henry I.

WHILE the House of Saxony was in possession of Germany and Italy, which had been dismembered from the French empire, the House of Charlemagne lost the crown, which was now little more than an empty title. The death of king Lothaire was soon followed by that of his son Louis V.; and Hugh Capet, as eminent for his merit as his birth and his power, seized the opportunity of appropriating to him-

987.
Hugh Capet
desirous of
procuring
the crown
of France.

self that crown which had been worn by his grandfather Robert, and his grand-uncle Eudes. Charles duke of Lorraine, Lothaire's brother, was the heir by blood, but his being vassal to the emperor appeared sufficient reason for his exclusion; he was cried down as a mean-spirited wretch unworthy of his birth, and a traitor to his country.

How he had gained the clergy and the monks.

Hugh had brought over the clergy and the monks to his interests, by renouncing the abbeys which he had inherited from his father. An excess of real or apparent devotion for the relics, gained their suffrages and the veneration of the people. St. Riquier, whose shrine he had carried bare-footed, was affirmed to have promised him the crown; and this report, which was purposely spread, paved the way for it. At last address joined with force gave success to his ambition. He caused himself to be acknowledged in an assembly of the nation, to be consecrated at Reims, and had the precaution to join his son Robert with him. Charles entered the kingdom and seized Laon, and afterwards Reims, by the treachery of archbishop Arnolph, his uncle; but being betrayed by the bishop of Laon, he fell into the hands of his rival, and died in prison in 992.

He is inaugurated in prejudice of Charles duke of Lorraine.

Trial of Arnolph of Reims, traitor to the king.

Disputes concerning the pope's jurisdiction.

The trial of Arnolph of Reims, so ungrateful to his benefactor, to a king whom he had acknowledged, and to whom he had sworn fealty, now took up the attention of the state. A council was assembled to try him. His partisans maintained that his cause ought to be carried before the pope; but the contrary was proved

proved by Arnolph of Orleans, one of the most respectable bishops in the kingdom. After giving a lively picture of the scandals with which the Holy See was disgraced, he adds: *If the pope be commendable for his knowledge and virtue, we have nothing to fear from him; still less ought we to fear him, if he be misled by ignorance or passion.* At last, it was agreed, that the council had power to judge him, and the king came in person, in order to press the sentence. The criminal threw himself humbly at his feet, divested himself of the marks of his dignity, and gave in his act of dismissal; upon which, Hugh promised to spare his life, if he committed no crime worthy of being *punished by the sword.* The famous Gerbert was put in his room.

Gerbert, a man of low birth, who was raised by his genius, had been a monk of Aurillac, but being exposed to the jealous hatred of his brethren in the cloister, whom he despised, retired into Spain, where he had studied the sciences of the Arabians. Being a mathematician and philosopher, he was looked upon as a forcerer by the common people; but he had made his way into courts, and become preceptor to Otho III. and afterwards to Robert, son of Hugh Capet; the king could not reward him more suitably, than by bestowing on him the archbishopric of Reims.

Gerbert
archbishop
of Reims.

His fortune and merit making him an object of envy, some bishops wrote to John XV. that the deposition of Arnolph was null, because it was made without the pope's consent. This reason appeared decisive; and notwithstanding

John XV.
desires to
depose him.

His letter
against the
pope.

Gerbert
deposed.

996.
Gregory V.
annals king
Robert's
marriage.

the respectful remonstrances of the king, he did not scruple to put all the prelates who assisted at the council under an interdict. Then Gerbert, giving way to his natural warmth of temper, wrote an invective against the pope, in a letter addressed to the archbishop of Sens. "Let us not give room to our adversaries to believe, that the priesthood is so much under the dominion of one man, that, should he suffer himself to be corrupted, or seduced by money, favour, fear, or ignorance, none could enjoy the episcopal dignity without employing the like methods to gain his approbation." John XV. was the strongest, and the court wanted to keep fair with him, because he likewise attacked the marriage of king Robert with Bertha. He sent a legate to give orders, and to hold councils. Arnolph was re-established, and Gerbert deposed; but the first remained in prison till the death of Hugh Capet; and the second, having found an asylum with Otho III. his pupil, became archbishop of Ravenna, and afterwards pope, by the name of Silvester II.

When Robert had succeeded his father, he found himself the more exposed to the enterprises of the court of Rome, as he joined to a weak character a scrupulous and ignorant devotion. The church had extended the degrees within which marriage was unlawful, to the seventh. He was fourth cousin to his wife Bertha, for whom he had a tender affection, and their marriage had been authorised by several bishops. Gregory V. undertook to annul it,

it, and in a council held at Rome, without examining the merits of the cause, or even hearing the parties, in the most arbitrary manner published a thundering decree, ordering the king and queen to separate under pain of excommunication; and laying under an interdict all the bishops who were accomplices of their pretended crime, until they should come and give satisfaction to the Holy See.

Robert, being restrained by conjugal tenderness, did not make haste to comply, but reckoned himself excommunicated. According to the account of Cardinal Peter Damien, the courtiers avoided all correspondence with him; only two domestics continued their services; and their superstition went so far, as to purify by fire the plate which he made use of at table. This credulous author adds, that the queen was brought to bed of a monster with the neck and head of a goose; an evident punishment of her incest: and Robert, converted by this prodigy, or rather dreading a revolt, and yielding to the terrors of superstition, divorced Bertha, and married Constance, daughter of the count of Arles; and thus gave himself a tyrant, instead of the amiable spouse whom he was obliged to dismiss. Gregory likewise obliged him to restore Arnolph to the See of Reims. What do not these strange scenes prognosticate! We shall soon see the thunders of the Vatican spread a conflagration through Europe, shake all the thrones, and break the strongest bonds of society.

Effects of
that good
prince's ex-
communi-
cation.

He submits.

Yet

He refuses
the crown of
Italy.

Yet Robert might have become sovereign of the popes, had he been endowed with ambition and vigour. After the death of Henry II. successor of Otho III. last emperor of the house of Saxony, the Italians, disgusted with the German dominion, offered him their crown and empire; but he had the prudence to refuse them. The house of Franconia succeeded that of Saxony, in the person of Conrad II. whose reign begun in 1024.

Factions in
that coun-
try.

Under that of Henry II. Ardoin marquis of Ivree had borne the title of king of Italy, and supported the war against the German monarch. Pavia declared for the one, Milan for the other, and an implacable hatred broke out between these two cities. All Europe was filled with factions, but they raged no where with such violence as in Italy. It may be believed, that the tempestuous state of Rome, divided between the emperors, the popes, and the love of liberty, set all the rest in motion, or gave additional activity to the national turbulence.

Robert ty-
rannised by
his wife.

To return to Robert, his second marriage was a source of mortifications and unhappiness. Queen Constance domineered with unsupportable haughtiness: she wanted to regulate the succession, and not loving prince Henry, the eldest of his sons, set every spring in motion to prevail on the king to take the younger, Robert, for his colleague. Being provoked at his refusal, she persecuted the two brothers, who were united in the strictest friendship, and made them take up arms against their father, whose will

will was almost always regulated by hers. Happily they soon returned to their duty.

Nothing is more proper to give an idea of that princess, and of the manners of the age in general, than the affair of the heretics of Orleans. An Italian woman had privately broached some new opinions, and seduced a number of people, among whom were some ecclesiastics of reputation. Their heresy attacked the doctrines and ceremonies of the church. They were seized, examined in a council, where they disputed with the bishops, and were condemned to the flames. Constance was at the gate of a church, while these unhappy creatures were passing to the pile, and with a switch struck out the eye of one of the principal, who had been her confessor. She applauded herself for this deed, probably looking upon it as an act of zeal and virtue.

Heretics of
Orleans.

Instance of
that queen's
cruelty.

Henry I. whom Robert caused to be inaugurated during his own life, succeeded him in 1031. Constance armed her other son against that brother, whose friend he had till then shewn himself. The king, who was at first a fugitive in Normandy, soon after quelled the sedition, and gave the duchy of Burgundy to the rebel. The most remarkable circumstance in this reign is, that he married for his second wife the daughter of Jarodissas, Czar or prince of Russia. The obstacles to marriage were so greatly multiplied, and the example of his father so terrifying, that he doubtless thought it expedient to send for a wife to that unknown country, that he might not expose himself to the

1031.
Reign of
Henry I.

Marriage
very difficult
on account
of the pro-
hibitions.

the

the risk of excommunication. Such was the universal confusion in civil order, that even a king did not know how he should enter into wedlock!

Peace of
God ordain-
ed by the
bishops.

Besides this, the disorders produced by anarchy baffle description. The *peace and truce of God*, which were contrived as a remedy, will give some idea of the evil. In 1033, the bishops published a decree, which they pretended was dictated by divine inspiration, prohibiting all laymen from bearing arms from that time forth, exacting the restitution of an usurped possession, or revenging the death of their relations; obliging them to pardon murderers, to take no nourishment but bread and water on Fridays, and to eat no flesh on Saturdays. Whoever refused to swear to the observation of these regulations, was to be excommunicated and deprived of burial.

Opposed by
only one
prudent
bishop.

A single bishop had the boldness to censure this ordinance. He represented, that the ordering of peace or war was the peculiar province of kings; that the requisition of such an oath would only multiply perjuries; that prudence did not permit the imposition of obligations unsupportable to the generality: but he was looked upon as the enemy of peace, till he had followed the example of the others.

This peace
destroys
itself.

However, experience soon demonstrated the soundness of his advice. After a short fit of devotion, private wars and violence again broke out, and the most scrupulous necessarily became their victims. Every petty lord was then the tyrant of his own lands, and the enemy of his

his neighbours. Every great lord was a more formidable tyrant. Law and justice were annihilated, and every thing was decided by arms.

The bishops perceiving the inutility of their censures, about the year 1040, changed the peace of God into a truce. It was enacted, that from Wednesday evening to Monday morning, no act of violence should be committed, under pain of fine and excommunication. This was still too much, and the time was shortened to the interval from Saturday evening till Monday morning; so that all the rest of the week, murder and robbery might seem to be authorised. A government of savages shews nothing so horrid! This is the picture of the situation of the French under the reign of Henry I. which did not end till 1060. Let us take a cursory view of the other nations, of which it will be sufficient at present to have a general notion. We shall every where see the same calamities springing from the same causes.

It is changed
into a truce
equally use-
less.

C H A P. III.

England, Spain, the Empire of the Arabians, and of Constantinople, during the two last Epochs after Charlemagne.

E N G L A N D.

From the time of Alfred every thing declines in England.

The Benedictines became too powerful there.

Owed their credit to the abbot Dunstan.

FROM the time of the great Alfred, England was every day losing the fruits of his admirable institutions, which were prevented from taking root in the kingdom by domestic troubles, wars, and barbarism. His son Edward the Elder was incessantly armed against the Danes. Three sons of Edward, Athelstan, Edmund I. and Edred, reigned in succession with very little tranquillity. Under the last, the monks of the order of St. Benedict were established as reformers, attacked the clergy and the other monks, whose irregularities were public; governed the king; occasioned a revolt against Edwy his successor, who did not observe the same conduct; became more powerful under Edgar, whose virtues they have extolled, though they were stained with many spots; and in a manner reigned, under the name of Edward the Martyr. The celebrated abbot Dunstan, bishop of Worcester and London, as well as archbishop of Canterbury, possessing these three Sees at once, with the reputation of a saint, was the soul of all the measures taken in favour of

of the monks, to which he united the glory and service of God. The amazing ascendancy he procured them, served to increase the power assumed by the Romish court.

This was not the method to repulse the Danes, who renewed their irruptions in 991. Ethelred, a prince, who had neither genius nor courage, inflamed their avidity by purchasing their retreat. Sweno king of Denmark, and Olave king of Norway, fell upon England, gained a battle, and for sixteen thousand pounds weight of silver sold a disgraceful peace, which was a prelude to new hostilities. The English, like the generality of the other Germans, had degenerated from their ancient valour, and that love of liberty which defied death. They submitted to Sweno in 1013. Canute the Great, his son, who mounted the throne in 1017, strengthened his power, conquered Norway, and was master of three kingdoms. He ended his reign in the exercises of devotion, went a pilgrimage to Rome, and built several churches in England. His two sons Harold and Canute II. did not support his reputation. Their reign was short. After the death of the latter in 1041, the English shook off the foreign yoke, and called in Edward the Confessor, a prince of the ancient royal house, who had taken refuge in Normandy. This monarch governed weakly. Having rendered his bed barren by a rash vow of chastity, he left England a prey to the ambition of William duke of Normandy, as will be seen in the following epocha.

SPAIN.

Invasion of the Danes under Ethelred.

They subdue the kingdom.

Canute the Great reigns after Sweno.

Edward the Confessor succeeds the Danes.

S P A I N.

The Christians draw upon themselves a persecution in the kingdom of Cordova.

SPAIN, more disturbed than England, presents only a confused scene of great disorders, petty wars, and petty revolutions. The Christians drew upon themselves a persecution in the kingdom of Cordova, by affronting Mahometism in their discourse; which was prohibited by the laws under pain of death. A bishop, who was a man of sense, in vain declared, that they who came unnecessarily to curse Mahomet were not to be looked upon as martyrs; in vain did a council, which Mariana treats as spurious, prohibit this excess of zeal; numerous instances of it still happened, and they were celebrated as heroic actions.

They augmented the kingdom of the Asturias, and founded that of Navarre.

The feeble kingdom of the Asturias, founded by Pelagius, the only slip remaining of the stock of the Gothic kings, was increased by the valour and wisdom of Alphonso III. surnamed the Great. Garcias Ximenes, of French extraction, at the same time founded the kingdom of Navarre, which afterwards became the most considerable of the Christian states in that country. However, the Moors or Arabians were still masters of Portugal, Murcia, Andalusia, Valentia, Grenada, Tortosa, and the inland provinces, to the other side of the mountains of Saragossa and Castile; that is, of more than three-fourths of Spain, and the most fertile parts of the country.

The Moors possessed more than three quarters of Spain.

Divisions among the Christians themselves

A number of their nobility had grown to too great a height of power, and affected independence,

ence, so that the sovereign was obliged to be in a continual struggle with the subjects: but the Christians were scarcely in better union. Though always at war with the Moors, they were a prey to mutual discords. The reign of Alphonso the Great was filled with conspiracies and revolts. His own wife and his two sons rebelled against him; in favour of the eldest of whom, Garcias, he abdicated the crown, and even generously fought under his command. This monarch died in 912, with the renown of a hero. We have of his writing a chronicle, which goes as far back as the reign of Wamba.

under Al-
phonso the
Great.

Another Spanish hero, Ramirez II. king of Leon and the Asturias, in 938, gained the celebrated victory of Semencas over the Moors, of whom fourscore thousand are reported to have been slain. In a pilgrimage to Compostella, he had vowed to St. James, that if he was victorious, each of his subjects should annually pay to that church a certain quantity of corn. The church was enriched, and the name of St. James became the Spanish cry of war. We find in all countries instances similar to this, and in all countries they have inspired a confidence, which has on some occasions produced great success.

Moors de-
feated at Se-
menças by
Ramirez II.

His vow to
St. James.

Meantime, the brave Almanzor, viceroy of Cordova, a celebrated enemy of the Christians, routed them with great slaughter in 995, took Leon by assault in the following year, afterwards sacked Compostella, and pillaged the treasury of St. James, the gates of which he caused to be carried to Cordova on the shoulders

Almanzor
victorious
over the
Christians,
afterwards
defeated.

of the vanquished. An epidemic distemper having forced him to retire, the Christians not doubting that heaven was revenging their cause, at last joined their forces and defeated Almanzor in 998. That general, who is said to have vanquished them in more than fifty battles, and joined political virtues to military heroism, who governed the Jews and Christians with the same equity as the Mussulmen, could not survive his defeat, and suffered himself to die of hunger.

Death of
that great
man.

Three
bishops kill-
ed fighting
for the
Moors.

A few years after, two Moorish lords disputed the throne of Hisslem II. last king of the blood of Abderaman. The counts of Barcelona and Urgello, with three bishops, took arms in favour of one of the competitors, and the three bishops were killed in battle. What could be the motive that induced these Christians to unite with infidels, notwithstanding the hatred of their religion? It was doubtless a desire of profiting by their civil wars; perhaps, too, it might be caused by their taste for chivalry and passion for adventures, which the example of the Saracens had brought into fashion.

The king-
dom of Cor-
dova sub-
divided.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, the kingdom of Cordova was dismembered by the ambition of a number of noblemen, who taking advantage of the troubles, usurped the title of kings. Toledo, Valentia, Saragossa, Seville, Orihuela, almost all the great towns, had independent kings. The provinces were changed into kingdoms, which multiplied in like manner among the Christians. Sancho, king of Navarre, surnamed the Great, because he made some conquests from the Moors, had the imprudence to divide his dominions among his four sons.

Same sub-
division of
kingdoms
among the
Christians.

sons. There were kings of Leon, of Navarre, of Castile, and of Arragon. These sovereigns, who sprung from the same stock, became enemies; the fruit naturally to be expected from partition. In a word, the ancient history of Spain becomes less interesting, and more obscure, as the country was subdivided among a greater number of sovereigns, whose interests were interwoven with each other. We scarce find any thing in it but a confused mass of crimes, which in other countries were produced by discord, and attended with more important consequences.

What makes the ancient history of Spain tiresome.

One thing highly worthy of attention is, that while the people were every where reduced to slavery, and groaned under oppression, the nobility of Arragon procured for them important privileges in that country, in order to form a powerful party against the sovereign. The *Ricos hombres*, elected by the people, were a tribunal very formidable to the crown. The grand justiciary was at their head, who administered the oath to the king, and presenting a drawn sword to his heart, pronounced the following words: *We who are your equals, constitute you our lord and king, on condition that you maintain our privileges and liberties; if otherwise, not.* In case the privileges were violated, the justiciary had a right to summon him before the states-general, and cause him to be deposed. He was the interpreter and arbiter of the laws, and supreme judge. Afterwards, in 1461, a tribunal was erected by the nomination of the states, in cases of necessity, to judge the grand justiciary. Ephori became requisite. This

The Ricos Hombres of Arragon.

Authority of the grand justiciary over the king.

office did not begin to lose its authority till the reign of Philip II.; at present it is merely titular.

THE EMPIRE OF THE ARABIANS.

Discords
fatal to the
empire of
the Arabi-
ans.

THE great empire of the Arabians likewise felt the revolutions produced by war and discord, which sooner or later overturn the best established thrones. After Watik, who reigned about the middle of the ninth century, the glory of the Califate began to decline. Under a succession of weak or wicked sovereigns, the governors shook off the yoke of authority. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, formed separate states. The disorders were increased by religious quarrels, which put arms into the hands of the ambitious. The sect of the Fatimites again sprung up with all the fury of fanaticism, and founded a new empire in Egypt. Cairo, its capital, became at the same time the seat of a Calif, and a place of flourishing trade.

Sect of the
Fatimites.

Califs of
Cairo.

A third
Calif in
Africa.

Another set of fanatics, who thought that the relaxation introduced into the Mahometan religion stood in need of a reformation, giving themselves up to the transports of enthusiasm, drew on a persecution and anathemas which helped to strengthen their party. They revolted, gained some victories, and took possession of the western coasts of Africa. At last, their chief uniting the sacerdotal with the royal dignity, under the title of Miramolin, governed this new empire, which was separated from an immense body.

The

THIRD EPOCH.

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The Califs of Bagdad had taken into their pay the Turks, or Turcomans, descended from the Huns, a Tartar nation, who breathed only war and conquest. These auxiliaries seized the opportunity of subduing the people whom they had come to defend. They made themselves masters of the provinces of Asia, deprived the Califs of the royal authority, while they revered their pontifical dignity, for they prudently conformed to the religion of the country. Several states were formed under monarchs who bore the title of Sultans, and received the investiture from the Califs, but took care to prevent them from assuming too much authority. The sovereign pontiff, about the middle of the eleventh century, was already in the same condition with the European kings; his power diminished in proportion as the number of his vassals increased.

The Turks called in by the Califs of Bagdad soon stripped them of their dominions.

EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE Constantinopolitan empire, now verging to its ruin, still presents us with a spectacle of weakness, folly, superstition, crimes, and insurrections. Nicephorus, who, as we mentioned before, dethroned Irene, was an execrable tyrant. The Saracens wrested from him the isle of Cyprus; and the Bulgarians, who were the scourge of Thrace, slew him in a battle in 811, after having destroyed his army.

Detestable and contemptible conduct of the Constantinopolitan emperors. Nicephorus,

His son Stauracius made himself so contemptible from the moment of his accession, that he

Stauracius,

was obliged, in consequence of a general revolt, to embrace a monastic life.

Michael
Rangabæus.

Michael Rangabæus refused to enter into a treaty with the Bulgarians, because a monk had determined, that he could not with a safe conscience restore the deserters. The Bulgarians entirely defeated the Greeks; the emperor escaped by flight; and the officers, filled with indignation, proclaimed Leo the Armenian.

Leo the Ar-
menian an
Iconoclast.

This emperor endeavoured to procure the king of the Bulgarians to be assassinated, who, in return, pillaged the suburbs of Constantinople. The emperor could contrive no better method for saving the state, than the destruction of idolatry, that is, of images. He ordered a new persecution, and was murdered in a church in the year 820.

Michael the
Stammerer.

His successor, Michael the Stammerer, at first tolerated the worship of images, but he changed his system and turned persecutor; he even wanted to introduce the observation of the Jewish sabbath, and the celebration of the passover, after their manner. The Saracens, taking advantage of his imbecility, made themselves masters of the isle of Crete (now Candia), with almost all Sicily, and invaded La Puglia and Calabria.

Theodora
resembles
Irene.

Under Theophilus, though a prince more worthy of the throne, the persecution raged with double fury, and the Saracens extended their conquests. After his death, the empress Theodora, who was regent during the minority of Michael III. restored the worship of images, as had been done by Irene. Being afterwards
desirous

desirous of converting the Manicheans by force, she caused thousands of them to be massacred, and those who escaped death fled to increase the armies of the Saracens; thus, from subjects being converted into enemies of the empire. Michael confined Theodora in a convent, and gave himself up to every species of wickedness; he even carried his impiety so far as to burlesque the ceremonies of the church: at last, he was murdered in 867, by Basilus, whom he had taken for his colleague, and imprudently attempted to depose.

Michael
III.

Basilus, formerly a Mendicant, found himself seated on the imperial throne. He is extolled for his virtue and justice; but he suffered himself to be duped by the celebrated patriarch Photius, in whom he reposed entire confidence, after having banished him; and, employing his fleet in building a church, suffered the Saracens to take Syracuse.

Basilus.

His son Leo composed sermons, while the enemy were ravaging his dominions and making conquests: however, he was surnamed the philosopher, because he loved study, and favoured learned men.

Leo the
philosopher.

Constantine Porphyrogenetes, son of Leo, whose reign began in 912, and ended in 959, deserves encomiums for his protection of the sciences which he cultivated. Men of the first rank were professors of philosophy, geometry, and rhetoric; but the affairs of the empire succeeded no better on that account.

Constantine
Porphyro-
genetes.

Poisoned by
his son Ro-
manus.

They were in a worse situation under Romanus, son of Constantine, who poisoned his father, and was a tyrant to his subjects.

Nicephorus-
Phocas.

Nicephorus-Phocas had the glory of vanquishing the Saracens, from whom he took Antioch and some other places. Yet his avarice and tyranny made him detested; his wife headed a conspiracy against him, and he was stabbed in his bed.

John Zi-
mifces.

John Zimifces, one of the assassins, seized the empire. This monarch defeated the Russians, by whom it had been invaded, at Adrianople and Bulgaria. The eunuch Basilus, his great chamberlain, who had accumulated a large fortune by extortion, dreading lest he should be punished and stripped of his riches, poisoned this valiant prince in 976, and preserved his credit under Basilus II. grandson of Constantine Porphyrogenetes.

Basilus II.

Basilus was only a formidable warrior. After a victory over the Bulgarians, he caused the eyes of near fifteen thousand prisoners to be put out. His subjects, overwhelmed with taxes, could not rejoice at his victories; he fought for himself, not for them.

Crimes of
the empress
Zoë.

His death was followed by a complication of crimes so black, that scarce any example of them can be found elsewhere. The princess Zoë, daughter of Constantine, the brother and colleague of Basilus, had married Romanus Argyrus, who was proclaimed emperor in 1028. Zoë conceiving a passion for Michael Paphlagonianus, a man of low rank, poisoned her husband,

She murders
Romanus
to marry
Michael.

husband, in order to bestow the crown on her lover; and the poison not working speedily enough, she caused him to be drowned in a bath. The patriarch of Constantinople at first started some objections against the marriage of the empress with Michael; but fifty thousand pounds of gold eased his scruples.

In 1041, the emperor Paphlagonianus died in a monastic habit, weighed down with diseases, and a prey to remorse. Zoé gave the empire and her hand to Michael Calaphates, son of a ship-caulker, and of a sister of the other Michael, in hopes that he would only be the minister of her will. This new emperor, jealous of his authority, banished her to an island; but the people revolted; the empress was brought back with her sister Theodora, and the eyes of Calaphates were put out. The two sisters reigned jointly a year, and employed themselves only in trifles. At last, the people being desirous of a prince, Zoé married Constantine Monomachus, one of her old gallants, and caused the crown to be set upon his head.

This new emperor neglecting his wife for a young mistress, the Greeks, provoked to the highest rage, stopped him in a procession, and declared, that they would obey none but the two empresses; he would have been torn in pieces, had not the two princesses calmed the mutineers. Monomachus increased the weakness of the empire by his rapacity. The frontier provinces were charged with their own defence against the Barbarians, and for that reason exempt from imposts; but he obliged them to

She marries
Calaphates,
who ba-
nishes her.

His eyes put
out.

Zoé marries
Monoma-
chus, her old
gallant.

Sedition a-
gainst that
prince.

pay like the rest, and took the care of their defence upon himself. But notwithstanding these provinces were taxed, they were very ill defended.

The spirit of superstition always prevails in the empire.
Isaac Comnenus turns monk.

This is sufficient to shew the state of Constantinople: if we sometimes meet there with an able and courageous prince, we always find the same ruling spirit. Isaac Comnenus, one of the best emperors, proclaimed in 1057, incurred the hatred of the monks, by applying the superfluity of their riches to the exigencies of the public. The monks exclaimed, impiety, sacrilege! The emperor being ill, owing to a fall from his horse, gave himself up to devotion, and abdicated in favour of Constantine Ducas, in order to put on the monastic habit in 1059.

Faults committed by Constantine Ducas.

Ducas, from a too great desire of peace, abandoned the provinces to the ravages of the Turks. He made his three sons emperors, and left the government to their mother Eudofia, on condition that she should promise never to marry, which she was obliged to do in writing. However, she soon took a resolution to marry Romanus-Diogenes, whom she had a little before condemned to death, but whose good mien had made an impression on her heart. Being embarrassed by the promise which was deposited in the hands of the patriarch, in order to recover it, she pretended to fix her choice on one of his relations; upon which the patriarch approved of her design to marry again, and without loss of time returned the writing, when Eudofia immediately espoused Romanus, and procured him the empire. Were the Greeks of that

His widow deceives the patriarch in order to marry again.

that age in any respect superior to the Barbarians? Or what useful information could we gain by dwelling upon particulars which afford no variety?

C H A P. IV.

Schism of the Greeks.

THE schism of the Greeks, which was completed about this time, is an object of curiosity that deserves a place in history, independently of its connection with religion. In order to follow its progress, it will be necessary to go back to its origin. Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, having been deposed in 858 by the intrigues of the court, was succeeded by Photius, a simple layman, of illustrious birth, superior genius, and the most learned man in Europe; but of a dangerous character, intriguing, crafty, and hypocritical, sometimes artfully pliant, at others haughtily overbearing. In six days he rose to the dignity of patriarch. The first, he was made a monk, which among the Greeks was a necessary requisite for promotion in the church; on the second, reader; on the third, subdeacon; on the fourth, deacon; after that, priest, bishop, and at last patriarch.

The patriarch Ignatius supplanted by Photius in 858.

As the old and new patriarchs had each their favourers, whose quarrels disturbed the public peace,

A council, whose decision was annulled by Nicholas I.

peace, Michael III. addressed himself to pope Nicholas I., who was overjoyed at being constituted judge of the Greek church, as he was of those of the West. At a council held in 861, composed of more than three hundred bishops, in which two legates presided who had suffered themselves to be bribed, the deposition of Ignatius and the election of Photius were confirmed. But in a council at Rome, Nicolas, after annulling the sentence passed at Constantinople, excommunicated Photius *by the authority of God, the apostles, all the saints, the six general councils, and the judgment which the Holy Ghost pronounced by the mouth of the pope.*

Excommu-
nication of
Photius.

Revenge of
the patri-
arch.

He assumes
the title of
œcumenical.

His re-
proaches
against the
Roman
church.

Photius, exasperated at this rough treatment, held a council in his turn, excommunicated and deposed the pope, and assumed the title of œcumenical or universal patriarch; a title which at Rome could not be tolerated. According to the system which had been contrived long before, he pretended that the primacy had been transferred to Constantinople when it was made the seat of the empire. He formed the project of rendering the Greek church independent of the Roman, and to decry the latter by accusations capable of striking the people: with this view, he objected to it the permission to eat cheese and milk in the time of Lent, and charged it with manicheism for imposing celibacy on the priests; but his principal complaint was the addition of the expression *filioque* to the creed, which, according to him, was a monstrous impiety, and destructive of christianity. In the same manner he condemned fasting on Saturday,

day, and the custom of clergymen shaving their beards. A great genius would doubtless have found less frivolous objects of censure, had he not wanted to accommodate himself to the shallow apprehensions of the vulgar.

Basilus, the murderer and successor of Michael III., suspended the quarrel by restoring Ignatius and expelling Photius, who had boldly reproached him with his parricide. A council of Constantinople (the eighth general council), at which were present three legates from Adrian II., launched against him the ecclesiastical thunders. Peace seemed restored between the two rival churches; but it could not last, because the rivalry could not be destroyed. Self-interest occasioned another rupture.

The king of the Bulgarians, whose wife was a Christian, had embraced Christianity; and his example, according to custom, had drawn after it a great number of the people. Whether Bulgaria was to be subject to the jurisdiction of the pope, or that of the patriarch of Constantinople, formed the subject of a famous dispute. The council of Constantinople decided in favour of the patriarch; but Adrian's legates protested against the decision, and his successor John VIII. threatened Ignatius with excommunication and deposition, if he did not immediately recal the priests and bishops who were employed in Bulgaria. Yet that kingdom had been dismembered from the Greek empire. Rome was still ambitious of universal dominion.

Ignatius dying, and Photius having recovered his credit at court, the pope having need

Basilus expels Photius, and restores Ignatius.

Dispute between the two churches with regard to Bulgaria.

John VIII. threatens Ignatius with excommunication.

The pope causes Photius to be

of

restored
after the
death of
Ignatius.

of Basilus (for the Saracens had imposed on him a tribute of twenty-five thousand merks of silver), every thing soon changed its appearance. John VIII. resolved to acknowledge Photius, and sent legates for that purpose. In 879, a council of near four hundred bishops assembled at Constantinople, solemnly restored the patriarch, and annulled the decisions of the other councils, by which he had been condemned. The pope even wrote a letter, in which he spoke of those who had added the clause *filioque* to the creed as transgressors.

But afterwards ex-communicates him on account of Bulgaria.

He made no question that Photius would renounce Bulgaria, but being informed of the contrary, had recourse to those arms which he was incessantly employing, and fulminated excommunications. His successors refused to acknowledge the patriarch who was banished by Leo the philosopher, and at his death left the seeds of an everlasting schism, where we cannot too much lament the influence of party spirit in religious matters.

Death of Photius.

The disputes renewed by Michael Cerularius in the eleventh century.

Frivolous observances objected as crimes to the Latins.

The fatal rupture did not take place till the middle of the eleventh century. The patriarch Michael Cerularius, less able and equally ambitious with Photius, undertook to shake off the yoke of the popes: he published an invective against the Latin church, fixing on minutiae, and turning every thing into a crime. To feed upon animals strangled or unclean, to eat flesh on Tuesday, eggs and cheese on Friday, to fast on Saturday, to use unleavened bread in the service of the mass, not singing Alleluia in Lent, according to him were abominations. In an answer

answer composed at Rome, it is said, that the Latins imposed a severe penance on whoever ate of blood or things strangled, except in cases where they ran the risk of dying of hunger. But Cerularius was much more animated by passion than prejudice, and sought only pretences to varnish his undertaking.

The hatred of the patriarch was still more provoked by a very angry letter of Leo IX., who reproached the Greeks with maintaining more than fourscore and ten heresies condemned by the Roman church, and proved the temporal power of the popes by the chimerical donation of Constantine. His reasons were scarce better than those of Cerularius. Some legates being sent from Rome to Constantinople, the patriarch refused to see them; upon which they laid on the altar of Sancta Sophia, in 1054, a sentence of excommunication, bearing, *that Michael and his followers be anathematized with the Simoniacs, the heretics, and the devil and his angels, if they be not converted.* In this act the Greeks are accused of castrating their guests, and afterwards making them bishops; of saying that the law of Moses is cursed; of observing the Jewish purifications; of expunging from the creed the procession from the Holy Ghost; of permitting the priests to marry, and obliging them to wear long beards and hair; in a word, of reviving all the ancient heresies.

Cerularius on his side answered the legates by an invective. *Impious men issuing from the darkness of the West have come into this pious city,*

Reproaches
of Leo IX.
against the
Greeks.

1054.
Remarkable
sentence of
excommuni-
cation pro-
nounced
against
them.

Cerularius
on his side
insults the
Latins.

city, whence the orthodox faith hath spread through the whole world, and endeavoured to corrupt the true belief by the diversity of their doctrine. This beginning is of itself sufficient to shew how the spirits are warmed in a dispute, when men transgress the bounds of moderation.

The schism
made perpetual.

The Greeks entertained a sovereign contempt for the Romans, whom they looked upon as ignorant Barbarians; were filled with indignation at the popes aspiring to universal dominion, and returned anathemas for anathemas. The emperors of Constantinople, standing in need of succours from the West, sometimes strove to re-unite the two churches; but religious quarrels are never reconciled by political interests. The schism was perpetuated, though there were some intervals of seeming peace. We shall have occasion to speak of it again.

C H A P. V.

General Observations on the two last Epochas.

Utility of
the follow-
ing observa-
tions.

TO know the value and necessity of the information which reason ought to acquire by study, it is of importance to reflect on the misconduct of our ancestors. To perceive the advantages of a good government, where authority is invested with proper strength, and submission is founded upon the public weal, it is expedient to turn our thoughts on the disorders

orders of an absurd and odious administration. These are the two objects which I have in view in making the following observations.

After the time of Charlemagne, what disorders every where took root! What miseries overwhelmed the human race! Ignorance and anarchy concurred to carry to the utmost pitch the unhappiness of the human race. The one obliterated the principles, the other cancelled the rights. The first not only degrades men to a level with the brutes, but enslaves them to an infinite number of errors and pernicious prejudices from which the brutes are exempt: the second converts society into a monstrous assemblage of robbers inveterately bent on mutual destruction, of savage tyrants, and stupid or frantic slaves. Such are the characteristics of the last ages, and they require some new observations.

Ignorance
and anarchy
produce
boundless
mischief.

I.

Ignorance was grown to such a height among the nations of the West, if we except the Moors of Spain, that very few persons could read, still fewer write. The clerks and monks being alone acquainted with this valuable secret, necessarily became the arbiters and judges of all affairs. They brought under their cognizance marriages, contracts, wills, and which they took care to consider under some mystical view. Thus did they open new sources of authority and riches, in order to make themselves amends for the possessions wrested from them by the nobility.

The monks
and clerks
usurp au-
thority by
help of the
ignorance
which pre-
vailed a-
mong the
laymen.

nobility. Every thing was dressed in the colours of religion ; civil affairs were confounded with spiritual ; and from this unnatural mixture rose an infinite number of abuses.

They extend it particularly over marriage.

We need not quote any other proof of this than marriage itself, which is unquestionably the most essential of all social contracts, and consequently ought to be one of the principal cares of the civil legislature. The Christian emperors had, on this head, followed the example of the ancient law-givers, and no objection had been made to their proceeding. But the clergy, who had almost got the sovereign power into their hands, saw nothing in marriage but a sacrament. They formed new obstacles of consanguinity, affinity, and not only temporal but spiritual affinity, which they carried to such a length, that people scarcely knew where to find a lawful wife ; for there were none within the seventh degree. The popes assumed a special right of determining on this important subject, on which so many others are dependent ; but how did they use it ?—The pious king Robert of France was obliged to separate from his wife, because she was his fourth cousin, though their chaste and tender union had been authorised by some French prelates ; and Henry, son of Robert, could find no other method to avoid the like violence, than to bring a wife from Muscovy.

But barbarous and ignorant themselves, they necessarily abused their power.

As religion was the only tie that could in any degree restrain the unbridled licentiousness of the Barbarians, the power of its ministers would have been attended with the best effects, had

had they in general known how to use it with prudence. But while they were barbarous and ignorant themselves, how could they be proper guides and good pastors? Prejudices were accumulated, and religion was so distorted, that her features could no longer be distinguished; consequently religious motives, which were extended to the regulation of every action, often became principles of error and folly.

Instead of the essential duties of Christianity, which are excellently calculated for establishing order, and inspiring the principles of rectitude, virtue was made to consist in arbitrary observances, which are easily reconciled with the commission of crimes. Morality was in a manner smothered under a heap of ceremonies which acquired the name of devotion. Relics, pilgrimages, offerings, and pious legacies, were thought capable of opening the gate of heaven to the most wicked of men. Formerly some were restrained, others corrected, by the severity of penance; but it was imagined that its place might be supplied by equivocal marks of piety, from which corrupted hearts sometimes arrogate a claim to be vicious with impunity. They actually wrought themselves into a persuasion that God required no more, and in a manner purchased the privilege of following the bent of their passions without remorse.

Observances
and formu-
laries sub-
stituted in
the room of
duties.

If the prelates were unacquainted with the spirit of Christianity, they were still less capable of setting proper bounds to their authority. Instead of consecrating ecclesiastical censures solely to spiritual purposes, they converted them

Excessive
abuse of ex-
communi-
cation.

into a weapon for defending their privileges and supporting their pretensions. The priesthood, which was principally designed to bless, was more employed in cursing. Excommunication was made the instrument of damning instead of saving souls, and inflicted according to the dictates of policy or revenge; the great, and even kings, were excommunicated when it was designed to rob or to enslave them: and that invisible engine was used to kindle bloody wars, and work revolutions, as we shall see in a short time.

The spirit
of religion
opposite to
these vices.

In a word, every kind of excess and illusion was rendered sacred by ignorance. The history of these ages is a reproach to the human understanding. Religion herself would be dishonoured by them, could she be charged with what she condemns in her own ministers. Her influence still produced some eminent patterns of virtue, unhappily lost in the gulph of the vices, but still proper to confound the guilty.

The corrupt
manners of
the clergy
at that
period.

By what miracle could the virtue and sanctity suitable to the clerical profession be preserved by a body of men ignorant and rapacious, who erected themselves into an universal tribunal; who thought it a disgrace to swear fealty to their sovereign; who pretended a right to dispose of the crown; and who in France, Spain, and other countries, frequently realised that claim; who, arrogating the privilege of judging all men, would themselves be judged by none; who saw those absurd pretensions consecrated by false decretals, by the writings of virtuous and learned prelates, an Abogard of Lyons,
and

and even the celebrated Hincmar of Reims;—a body of men, who had the power of making peace or war; and who, notwithstanding, being always exposed to the violences of the nobles, as often made use of the temporal as of the spiritual sword? Scarcely were they acquainted with common decency. Even the papal throne was the seat of debauchery and vice.—Bishops married publicly, in defiance of the severe canons established by the Roman church. The generality of priests and monks of the ancient orders kept wives, or concubines, without shame or scruple. The possessions of the church were turned into a patrimony for the bastards of the incumbents; but more frequently they were sold to the highest bidder; and simony, especially at Rome, became a public traffic, where violence was too frequently joined to the frauds of self-interest. Even the ecclesiastical records will not permit us to doubt of those lamentable truths. Need we be surprised that morals were ruined, when vices were authorised by ignorance?

Disorders when carried to extremity infallibly kindle sentiments of zeal and virtue; and besides, the public calamities with which Europe was overwhelmed inspiring a religious fervour, the monastic reformation of Clugny took its rise about the beginning of the tenth century, and its progress was amazingly rapid. Men were struck with a new pattern of holiness. The monks of this order, distinguished for their piety and austerity, seemed to many angels descended from heaven to save the human race.

The reformation of Clugny seemed a remedy to the evil.

Riches lavished on the new monks.

Contempt for the clergy and ancient monks a source of disorder.

Religion overcharged with new monastic observances.

The greater contempt they at first shewed for wealth, the more eagerly was it heaped upon them. A variety of calamities having introduced a persuasion that the end of the world was approaching, people grew indifferent about the wants of their families; imagining that they could secure happiness in another life to themselves and their children, by a donation of their fortunes to the zealous servants of God, who were not prevented from accepting them by the approaching dissolution of the world. The happiness of being admitted into their order was eagerly courted. Bishops, priests, and monks, were held in contempt; nor did their conduct deserve esteem; and the reformers acquired credit and authority, in proportion to the veneration in which they were held, and the confidence reposed in them. Hence sprung the rivalships and quarrels between the secular and regular clergy, between the monks of the ancient and new orders. At last the latter gained the dominion, which was a fresh source of disorders; for this dominion, naturally destructive of order, was to them a shoal, which proved the wreck of those virtues that had procured them so great power, and made them so respectable.

Then religion, which had already greatly degenerated from her primitive simplicity, found herself overcharged with a number of monastic observances. Vocal prayers were lengthened without end; genuflexions and other ceremonies acquired a superior merit; and particular observances were held in much more esteem than the

the duties of morality; strange methods were invented for the relief of the dead, and expiating the sins of the living: for example, it was pretended that a man might satisfy divine justice, not only for his own offences, but for those of others, by giving himself a certain number of lashes, which were to buy off so many years torment in purgatory. At this period the lives of the saints were filled with an infinite number of fables, to give credit to the notions instilled into the people. Metaphrastes propagated these fables among the Greeks; the Latins, still more ignorant, were necessarily more credulous. In one word, the writings of these times are filled with extravagancies, because the pen was in the hands of blind or interested superstition, and the readers were as eager to believe as the writers to deceive. The learned monks or ecclesiastics of the present age acknowledge all these abuses, in the same manner as we confess all the follies of our ancestors. (*Vid. Fleury.*)

About the end of the ninth century they attempted to argue, after they had lost the rules of common sense. Accordingly there broke out some theological controversies in France. The monk Gothescalc thought he could throw light upon the mystery of predestination, according to the doctrine of St. Augustin; but he found a formidable adversary in the famous Hincmar of Reims; who, not being able to get the better of him by arguments, caused him to be bastinadoed in the presence of King Charles the Bald. The monk Ratbert expressed the

Fables of
the leg-
endary writers.

Theological
disputes in
the ninth
century.

Gothescalc
bastinadoed.

Controversy
on the
eucharist
between
Ratbert
and other
monks.

doctrine of the real presence in terms so harsh and unusual, that two of his brethren, Raban and Ratram, seemed to controvert the doctrine, though they only attacked Ratbert's expressions. Curiosity then began to enquire whether the eucharist was digested, to examine the manner of the virgin's conception, and other matters, which could not be treated even by theologians of the greatest prudence, without risking a profanation of the holy mysteries. Happily all these disputes were swallowed up in the chaos of the tenth century. What must have been the fate of the doctrine of the church, had not the spirit of dogmatizing been lulled to sleep in the lap of the most profound ignorance!

Pernicious
logic of the
eleventh
century.

In the eleventh century men again applied to study; but their only science was a false logic which subtilised upon words, and gave no idea of things; confounded every thing by pretending to analyse every thing; formed a scientific jargon of itself able to annihilate all knowledge; and opened a field of battle to men of fiery tempers, who, as before had been done by the Greeks, with their sophisms kindled the flame of controversy, and gave birth to heresies. As the new doctors professed only to be theologians, theological subjects are the principal objects of their labours; and being neither acquainted with history, antiquity, nor criticism, their studies could scarcely produce any good fruits. Accordingly we shall find that Berengerius, canon of Tours, by attempting to explain the real presence, gave birth to the dispute

Dispute be-
tween Be-
rengerius
and Lan-
franc on
transubstan-
tiation.

dispute concerning *transubstantiation*; while the monk Lanfranc, his rival, by causing him to be condemned in several councils, and stirring up against him the bishops and popes, exposed that doctrine, which was disputed only in a single school, to the attacks of legions of sectaries.

The number of absurdities necessarily increased by their mistaken studies; of which we shall find too many examples. But the most striking of all is the enormous power which opinion conferred upon the popes, and which was propagated chiefly by those pious monks who were become the oracles of Europe. The court of Rome lavished upon them unheard-of privileges, exempting them from all other jurisdiction but her own, and binding them to her interest by every imaginable tie. Besides being accustomed from their youth to obey the absolute commands of a superior with the same implicit submission as the mandates of heaven, they were easily led to suppose that the head of the church, the vicar of Jesus Christ, was invested with unbounded authority. Their principles were formed by prejudice and interest, and consecrated by ignorance and enthusiasm. A first step always led to a second still more bold. A successful usurpation in a short time appeared an undoubted title. Sophisms and falsehoods were held forth as demonstrations. In a word, the enterprises of Gregory IV. against Louis the Debonnaire, of Nicholas I. against Lothaire king of Lorraine, of Adrian II. against Charles the Bald, of John VIII. against a number of

sovereigns,

Unlimited
power attributed to the
pope by the
monks.

sovereigns, of Gregory V. against king Robert, are nothing in comparison of those which were afterwards formed by Gregory VII., whose example was zealously followed.

Influence of
religious
ideas.

Thus, in the subsequent period, did religion serve more than ever as a pretext for the greatest excesses. It entered into all affairs of importance, and was the primary spring of all events. It is therefore necessary to be acquainted with the errors and abuses by which it was corrupted. They ought to be looked upon as essential to the history of the human mind, as well as that of political transactions; for at that time religious ideas absorbed all the mental powers of mankind, who certainly never were so little acquainted either with politics or religion.

II.

How the
fiefs were
multiplied
at the ex-
pense of
royalty.

Another distinguishing character of those two epochas is the anarchy produced by the feudal government. The *benefices*, or *fiefs*, conferred by the kings on the great men to recompense their past services, and enable them to perform others, being originally revocable, must have supported the royal authority, instead of sapping its foundations, had all the kings been like Charlemagne; but the ambition and avarice of the nobles took advantage of the weakness of the sovereigns, and ruined the domain, by extorting new fiefs. Not content with the usufruct, they were desirous of becoming proprietors; and the spoils of the crown at last became hereditary in their families. Nor was it possible to avoid this misfortune,

Made here-
ditary in
the fami-
lies.

tune, when the throne was filled by kings unskilled in the art of reigning, who were forced by a continued succession of civil dissensions and dangers to purchase the assistance, I had almost said the protection, of their subjects, and the nobles had strength sufficient to usurp what it was dangerous to refuse. The example of a few gave a title and a right to the rest;—when the bank was once broken, the torrent rushed in on every side.

The *dukes*, or governors of provinces; the *marquisses*, whose office it was to guard the frontiers; and even the *counts*, who were charged with the administration of justice, from being originally officers of the king, soon became masters of their duchies, marquisesates, and counties. The bishops and monks, after their example, usurped the cities and lands in which they found themselves strongest. They became more powerful in Germany than elsewhere; because the Othos, through mistaken policy, wanted to form them into a party against the nobles. Historians assure us, that these princes granted to the church two-thirds of the property of the realm. Ought they not to have foreseen, that the clergy would be actuated by the same passions as the laymen, while they concealed them under the awful and formidable appearance of religion?

In the ninth and tenth centuries, the feudal government struck the deepest roots. Almost all the modern states of Europe adopted that constitution, which perhaps had an affinity to the ancient German customs. The king, as
lord

Cities and lands usurped by the nobles and clergy.

The clergy more powerful in Germany than in other countries.

Feudal government universally established.

lord paramount, received the homage and oath of his vassals for the fiefs which they held of the crown, and which, in default of heirs, were to escheat to his domain. He had a right to summon them to war; to judge them in his court, with their *peers* assembled; to confiscate their fiefs, in case of *felony* or revolt. But with these exceptions the great vassals enjoyed in their own estates the rights of regality; they coined money, exercised justice as sovereigns, enacted laws, had their court and their vassals; in a word, they were for the most part powerful enough to make the monarch tremble, if the name of monarch can be given to princes who had no real authority.

Fiefs, and
arrear fiefs,
undlessly
multiplied.

Anarchy giving free scope to violence, and the immediate protection of the great lords being of more utility than the king's, the number of their vassals daily increased. The possessors of the free or *allodial* lands surrendered them to some great man, in order to receive them from him again in fief; as by making themselves feudatories they secured a defender. Hence the fiefs multiplied without end; even mills and bake-houses went under that name; arrear fiefs had under them other arrear fiefs; and there was formed a chain of relative rights, so complicated and obscure, that to explain them would be an impossible task.

Horrid disorders which
sprung from
the feudal
anarchy.

From the feudal anarchy sprung the most dreadful disorders. Force became the supreme law. The great and the petty nobles were always in arms, and only thought of attacking their neighbours or defending themselves. As there was

no authority sufficient to punish crimes, murders and rapine were uninterruptedly perpetrated. Private wars became a kind of public right. The greatest part of the nobility, tyrants in their own demesnes, and robbers in those of others, trampled without remorse on the principles of equity, and the feelings of nature. Men degenerated into beasts of prey; and we must not be surprised, that the bishops had recourse to absurd expedients, and invented the *peace of God*, and the *truce of God*, to check the epidemical frenzy. Unskilful physicians attempted to heal incurable diseases; and the remedies were a new source of mischiefs.

Even the military service, though the principal duty of the vassals, had no fixed rules either for the duration of the campaigns, the distance of place, the number of soldiers, or the nature of the wars. It was limited to a space of time; sixty or forty days, sometimes more, sometimes less, according to arbitrary conventions, which could have no stability. In certain cases the vassals, far from being obliged to serve the sovereign, had a right to make war upon him. The sovereign was sometimes the vassal of his vassals. In a word, every thing depended upon circumstances; because the strongest either gave law, or refused obedience to it. The Scythians, who roamed at large with their flocks, were certainly better governed.

It is needless to paint the wretched state of the common people, which the reader may easily figure to himself. The slavery to which they were every where reduced, was less afflict-
ing

The military service due to the sovereign reduced almost to nothing.

Misery and servitude of the people.

ing to human nature than the violences and wants to which they fell a prey. Their mental powers, though degraded by oppression and public calamities, were still in some degree capable of reflection; and the feeble glimmering of reason they yet possessed, completed their misfortunes. We need here only remark, that great part of the people had voluntarily entered into a state of slavery, as well to the clergy and monks, as to the seculars, from a principle of stupid devotion, to procure subsistence by their labour, or to free themselves from more cruel tyranny. Servitude (who could believe it?) was a resource in those times of horror.

III.

The spirit
of chivalry
increased
the fondness
for arms.

Religion
blended with
chivalry,

The spirit of chivalry, which was already common, and in some respects useful, became fatal, by augmenting the passion for arms and adventures. Among the ancient Germans, the youth were armed for the first time with certain ceremonies, calculated to inspire martial ardour. But chivalry, considered as a military and political order, was still modern in the eleventh century. M. de St. Palaye (*Acad. des Inscript. t. 20.*) has given an entertaining account of that institution, with which we find religion or devotion so blended, that some enthusiasts made it a kind of sacrament, comparing it to the priesthood, and even to the episcopacy; an idea, in every respect, worthy of the ancient follies. After the prescribed fasts, the novice watched his arms in a church during a whole night, which

which he passed in prayer, received the sacraments, and performed several other religious ceremonies, at which priests and godfathers assisted; after this he received the sword and the embrace, and solemnly vowed to defend the faith, and to protect the widow, the orphan, and the oppressed.

The Moors of Spain had propagated a romantic spirit of gallantry, which became one of the principal characteristics of chivalry. To combat for the honour of the ladies, especially for her glory, whose knight a man declared himself, was a sacred and inviolable duty. Generous sentiments began to spring up; but it was impossible they could be pure in the bosom of the reigning vices.

Romantic
gallantry
borrowed
from the
Moors.

This institution was too agreeable to the warlike manners of those ages, not to be received with enthusiasm. The young nobility educated in the houses of the knights, learned under them the trade of war, and imbibed the sentiments of religion and love. They served as pages, afterwards as squires, aspiring to the supreme rank of knights, to which they could not rise till after they had given signal proofs of courage. Hence resulted two advantages for the nobility. Those who were in possession of the fiefs bred up a number of brave warriors attached to their service; and those of scanty fortune found resources, an education, and means of advancement. But every idea of merit being confined to the objects of chivalry, ignorance, superstition, and an ungovernable thirst for war, became

Enthusiasm
for chivalry.

Advantages
of it to the
nobility.

came more than ever the distinguishing characteristics of the nobles.

Abuses of
chivalry.

Notwithstanding the encomiums bestowed upon chivalry by M. de St. Palaye, his impartiality obliges him to allow, that "the ages in which it flourished most were those of debauchery, rapine, barbarity, and horror; and that the knights who were then extolled as heroes, were frequently stained with every vice and every crime." (*Fifth memoir.*) "Men are inconsistent," adds this judicious and learned author; "there is always a vast difference between speculation and practice. In the best regulated states, the number of those who conform to the established order, is always the least, unless, perhaps, at their commencement. The farther they remove from their origin, the more abuses are introduced by time; but those abuses ought to be imputed to the men, not to the profession they have embraced. Chivalry, in this respect, underwent the same fate as all other institutions; and besides, to speak freely, by its very nature it was obnoxious to many inconveniencies. If we consider it, even with respect to war, with what disorder must an impetuous body of men have fought, who obeyed no orders but the dictates of their courage, and seemed to aim only at multiplying their dangers; who confounded ostentation with glory, temerity with valour; and, intoxicated with false prejudices, could never have been brought to believe, that there were
" nations

1. No discipline.

“ nations of more prudence; for example, the
 “ Lacedemonians and Romans, among whom
 “ excess of courage was punished as a want of
 “ real spirit; in a word, a body of warriors in-
 “ capable of rallying, and therefore unable to
 “ repair their mistakes or their losses.

“ Their conduct seemed to be solely guided
 “ by a religion entirely superstitious; confined
 “ to a number of external observances, enjoined
 “ by priests for the most part as ignorant as
 “ those whose consciences they directed.

2. Super-
stition.

“ As there was but one step from the super-
 “ stition of our devout knights to irreligion,
 “ they had but one to make from their fana-
 “ ticism in love, to libertinism, &c.”

3. Debauch-
ery.

Not to take up time with a description of the Spanish knights errant, nor the jousts and tournaments brought into fashion by the Moors; let us only observe, that these magnificent and sanguinary sports were soon brought into vogue among other nations, and the knights of all countries gave the full rein to the passion for adventures. To this passion the Normans owed their conquests in Italy; and it was one of the principal causes of the crusades. The enterprises of chivalry, mingled with those of the papal power, will make the following epocha extremely interesting.

Jousts and
tourna-
ments: pas-
sion for ad-
ventures.

FOURTH EPOCH A.

Gregory VII. Wars of the Popes with the Emperor.—The Crusades.

[From the Middle of the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century.]

CHAP. I.

State of the Church of Rome before the Pontificate of Gregory VII.—Conquests of the Normans in Italy.—Conquest of England by William.

WE now draw near to the period, when the popes, forgetting the limits of their duty as ministers of peace, kindled the flames of civil wars, armed subjects against their sovereigns, and by the terrors of superstition filled Europe with confusion. The famous Gregory VII. was undoubtedly the author of these mischiefs; but it must have been frequently observed, that the evil was long preparing: a knowledge of the events which happened some years before he attained the pontificate, will give us a better idea of his destructive attempts.

Confusion raised in Christendom by the popes.

Q 2

Though

Three popes at the same time, who had purchased the papacy.

Though the clergy of all the different churches led immoral lives, those of the church of Rome were most deeply infected. Benedict IX., the successor of John XIX., who died in 1033, was expelled on account of his tyranny and debauchery; but having recovered the Holy See, he sold his dignity to Gregory VI., who is represented by Glaber the monk as a saint. After the expulsion of Benedict, Silvester III. had likewise purchased the pontificate, and assumed the title of pope. All the three were only desirous of getting money; and this Gregory, who has been so much extolled, addressed a circular letter to all Christians, requesting a supply for the suitable maintenance of his dignity. Was it wrong in a cotemporary historian to compare ecclesiastical dignities to merchandise exposed openly to sale? Morals, decency, laws, and principles were totally forgotten.

The emperor Henry III. causes them to be deposed.

The emperor Henry III., son of Conrad II., provoked at these disorders, went to Rome in 1046, and caused the three popes to be deposed. Clement II, and after him Damasus II., were chosen; but their reigns were only of short duration. Henry cast his eyes next upon his own relation Bruno, bishop of Toul, a man estimable for his exemplary life: he was named Pope by the assembly of Worms; and, having gone into Italy to demand a canonical election, was enthroned with universal approbation, and took the name of Leo IX. The emperor gave him Benevento, as the price of an annual tribute of a hundred merks, which had been paid ever since the time of Henry II., in acknowledgment that

Leo IX. elected.

1049.
Henry gives Benevento to the pope in exchange for a tribute.

that the diocese of Bamberg was under the immediate jurisdiction of the Holy See. By destroying the common right, the popes increased both their wealth and dominion, even by the fault of the emperors. What numbers of pardons were purchased at Rome, which were only abuses of power !

If Leo's moderation had kept pace with his zeal, he would have been better entitled to a place among the number of saints. Exceedingly anxious to reform abuses, and persuaded that he had a right to employ every means of authority for that purpose, he was scarcely seated upon the papal throne, when he acted as if he had been absolute. Without the consent, and even against the will of Henry I. king of France, he held a council at Reims, where he deposed several bishops, and excommunicated those who preferred obeying the king to attending the council. He returned to Italy, and on the road deposed and excommunicated whoever appeared to him to deserve censure. He displayed his rigorous severity in a more distinguished manner when he held a council at Rome : he showered down anathemas upon all who were guilty of simony, or who kept concubines ; but that made no alteration in the manners of the people.

A council, which was held the same year at Paris, condemned Berengerius and his sectaries ; and declared, that if they did not recant, the whole troops of the kingdom, headed by the clergy in their sacerdotal habits, should compel them either to submit to the doctrines of the church, or put them to death. The French

Leo zealous
for reform-
ing abuses,
but despo-
tic.

He insults
Henry I.
king of
France.

1050.
A council
at Paris
threatens to
send troops
against the
heretics.

bishops exercising their spiritual power in such a manner, it was difficult for a German pope to employ his with suitable moderation. We shall very soon see the power of the sword added to the censures against the Norman princes who were settled in Italy; an establishment equally worth our notice for its singularity and its effects.

Italy invaded by the Normans.

According to the generality of historians, forty Norman gentlemen, on their return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in the year 1016, saved the city of Salerno, which the Saracens were on the point of seizing, and refused the rewards that were offered to their heroic courage; carrying into their own country, with the glory of so noble an action, a warlike enthusiasm, which could not fail to produce consequences of greater importance. M. de Saint Marc rejects this fact for very plausible reasons, and maintains, that the first Normans came on a pilgrimage to Mount Gargano; that Melo, a brave Lombard officer, an enemy to the Greeks, persuaded them to settle in La Puglia; that their countrymen were inspired with the same desire; and that this was the true origin of their conquests.

They carry on a war in that country, procure settlements, and found the city of Aversa.

On whatever side the truth lies, there is no doubt that the Normans still preserved the intrepid boldness and ambition of their ancestors; and the hope of enriching themselves by their arms was likewise a powerful motive for their coming in crowds to Italy. They offered their services to whoever could best pay them; and were sometimes the allies, sometimes the enemies of the Greeks. The duke of Naples, to whom

whom they had been of great use in a contest with the prince of Capua, bestowed upon them a considerable territory, situated between the two cities, where they founded Averfa in the year 1029.

This establishment attracted new adventurers. Three sons of Tancred of Hauteville, a gentleman of Normandy, one of whom was called *William Fier-à bras*, or *Bras-de-fer**, laid the foundation of a new principality for their family. After having wrested La Puglia from the Catapan (the title of a magistrate acting under the authority of the court of Constantinople), they shared the conquest with the other officers. Bras-de-fer was elected count of La Puglia by his soldiers: he was succeeded by his brother Drogon, and their younger brother Robert Guiscard arrived with two others; so that this family, consisting of twelve heroes, became every day more and more formidable.

The sons of Tancred, a gentleman of Normandy, seize La Puglia.

1046.

Italy, continually immersed in blood, dreaded them as new enemies. Leo IX. seeing the lands of the church equally exposed to invasion with those of the laity, sued to the emperor for assistance; and having formed an army of Germans and Italians, he, in person, led them against those warriors whom he first excommunicated. The Normans, who scarcely exceeded three thousand men, sent him a most respectful message, promising to do him homage for their fiefs; but the pope having refused the offer, they cut his army in pieces, took himself prisoner, prostrated

1053.
Leo IX. attacks them, and is made prisoner.

* Iron-arm.

themselves before him, and, having received absolution, restored him to liberty.

Nicholas II. gives them whatever they could conquer to be held in fief.

He endeavours to attach the Normans to his interest against the emperor.

Hildebrand author of this policy.

What they offered to Leo IX., was accepted by Nicholas II., in the year 1059. Robert Guiscard having received from him the investiture of all the conquests which he had gained in La Puglia and Calabria, and all that he might afterwards make, either in that country or in Sicily, to be held in fief, he took the oath of fidelity to the pope; who, in the same manner, gave to Richard, count of Aversa, the investiture of the principality of Capua, which he had not in possession. At that time the politics of the court of Rome wanted a support against the emperor, and bestowed upon the Normans what it had not power to grant, but what they must obtain by arms. Thus powerful vassals were attached to the Holy See, valuable rights of lordship were acquired, and new means of aggrandizement were procured.

The author of this ambitious policy was the famous Hildebrand (afterwards Gregory VII.); an Italian monk of low birth, but austere, assiduous, and able, of a bold temper and unruly disposition, zealous for the reformation of the church, but still more for supporting the pretensions of the court of Rome; capable of carrying them the utmost lengths, and maintaining them with the greatest violence. His panegyrists, who compared him to Elias, doubtless imagined, that a pope should cause the fire of heaven to consume whatever opposed him. Jesus Christ taught different maxims, but they were not regarded.

Hildebrand

Hildebrand governed the church of Rome a long time before he was elected pope. On the death of Leo IX., in 1055, the Romans sent him into Germany to choose a successor, when he fixed upon Victor II., who immediately appointed him legate to France, where he began to discharge the duties of his office, by deposing six bishops for being guilty of simony. Stephen IX., abbot of Monte-Cassino, having succeeded to Victor, Hildebrand was made cardinal archdeacon. After the death of Stephen, in 1058, his credit was so great as to cause an antipope to be deposed, and Nicholas II., whom he entirely guided, to be raised to the Holy See.

He governed the church under different popes.

In a council held at Rome, Nicholas published the celebrated decree, by which it was declared, that the popes were to be elected in future by the cardinals, and afterwards approved by the clergy and people: *saving the honour due to our most dearly beloved son Henry IV., at present king, and who will very soon be emperor, according to the grant we have made in his favour; and this honour shall devolve to those of his successors, to whom the Holy See shall personally grant the same privilege.* Here the right of confirming the election is supposed to be only a personal privilege, though it has been founded on many incontestible titles. Henry was very young, and Hildebrand took every advantage.

Council at Rome.

Decree for the election of the popes.

Berengerius, incessantly persecuted by Lanfranc, was compelled to subscribe a formulary at this council, which declared, that the bread and wine, after consecration, are the true body and

Berengerius signs a formulary by force, and retracts.

and blood of Jesus Christ, *touched and broken by the hands of the priests, and bruised by the teeth of the faithful*. They imagined, that they had triumphed over the heretic; but his profession of faith, being publicly retracted, became a new subject of scandal. The turbulent zeal of Lanfranc the monk, like that of Hildebrand, speedily advanced him to fortune.

The pope issued decrees against simony, but preserved their first Sees.

The pope again issued thundering decrees against the concubinage and simony of the clergy; but it seems extraordinary, that while he attacked this abuse with so much violence, he still retained the archbishopric of Florence. Leo IX. had kept the bishopric of Toul, and his example had been followed by others. What privileges did they not attach to the title of sovereign pontiff, or *universal bishop*? This last title was undoubtedly introduced in opposition to that of *æcumenical patriarch*, the assumption of which was declared to be a crime in the patriarchs of Constantinople.

1061.
Alexander II. chosen without the consent of the court.

Cadalous was opposed to him in vain.

After the death of Nicholas II. Hildebrand, who had just made the Norman princes feudatories of the pontificate, caused Alexander II. to be elected without deigning to consult the court. The empress Agnes, widow of Henry III. who was regent during the minority of her son, wanted to defeat this attempt, and Cadalous, bishop of Parma, was chosen by some bishops, by the name of Honorius II. Some German troops were sent to put him in possession; but the German princes suddenly changed the government; the archbishop of Cologne carried off young Henry from his mother, and the

the antipope was abandoned and thrown into prison.

The new pontificate was actuated by the temper of Hildebrand, whose friend Peter Damien, a zealous promoter of new monastic devotions, signalised himself on several occasions in quality of legate. He was particularly solicitous in France to confirm the privileges of Clugny, which went so far as to prohibit the bishops, even in their own dioceses, from excommunicating a monk, upon pain of being themselves excommunicated. He diffused the practice of voluntary scourgings, which very speedily degenerated into fanaticism. This pious cardinal, whose own life was exceedingly austere, adopted some maxims very convenient for sinners: he supposed it possible to do penance in the place of others. We are astonished to read what he says to a prelate in one of his letters: *You know, that when penitents give us some property in lands, we lessen the penance in proportion to the gift.* His works are one of the most remarkable monuments of the false ideas and credulity of that age. (See *Fleury*.)

As the papal court was constantly engaged in politics, the orders, decrees, threatenings, and thunders of Rome, gave birth to transactions, which would appear incredible, if prejudice and ignorance were not all-powerful. Even the conquest of England by the Normans was in some degree derived from this source, which is one of the most remarkable events of the eleventh century.

Peter Damien legate. His false ideas on several subjects.

The court of Rome engaged in politics.

Edward

Edward,
king of
England,
dies without
heirs.

The Eng-
lish choose
Harold.

1066.
William
duke of
Normandy
wants to
conquer that
kingdom.

Edward the Confessor, a prince of the royal family of Anglo-Saxons, succeeded to the throne which had been in the possession of the Danes. Being prohibited from conjugal commerce by his devotion, he was without issue: having spent the early part of his life in Normandy, he bore great affection to his relation duke William, and was desirous to nominate him to the succession; but the Normans already in the kingdom had made themselves detested, from their influence with the king. The English were so jealous, that they were on the point of entering into a rebellion, which obliged him to dismiss them; and after his death, Harold, a powerful and ambitious lord, whose politics had been employed for a considerable time in paving the way to the throne, was elected by the people.

Harold had, for his competitor, a hero of equal bravery and capacity; the famous William duke of Normandy, a bastard son of duke Robert, who had defended himself against the attempts of Henry I. king of France, and against his own vassals, who wanted to deprive him of the succession. Having secured peace at home, he ventured to attempt the conquest of England, to which he had no other claim but a real or pretended will of Edward in his favour. His reputation, and that of his Normans, attracted crowds of warriors to his standard. He procured the favour of the emperor's court, and even of that of France, where Philip I. who was still a minor, had shewn no qualities deserving a throne; but one
of

FOURTH EPOCH.

237

of the chief secrets of his policy was, to procure the approbation of pope Alexander, who sent him St. Peter's standard as a pledge of a just and infallible victory, after having anathematized Harold as a tyrant.

Favoured by
the pope.

The duke disembarked in England with sixty thousand men. He made a vow to build a monastery upon the field of battle; gained a decisive victory at Hastings, in which Harold was killed; compelled the English to submit, and reigned by the right of conquest. The minds of the people had been so terrified by the anathemas of the pope, that the king's brother made use of that as an argument to dissuade him from coming to action. If Harold had taken his advice, it is probable, that the severity of winter, fatigue, and famine, would have destroyed the army of the enemy. Conquerors are much indebted to the faults committed by those whom they attack.

He succeeds
in his enter-
prise.

Alexander II. or rather Hildebrand, by whom he was governed, profited by a conquest, which was undertaken with the sanction of pontifical authority. England received a legate for the first time. The pontiff, by means of his legates, acted as if he had been personally present, and exercised absolute authority in every country. Lanfranc, that Italian monk, whom the desire of promotion had carried into France, being placed in the See of Canterbury, and made primate of the kingdom, laboured effectually to establish Italian principles.

First legate
in England.

Though William appeared a devotee, he did not carry matters so far as to make the rights of the

But Wil-
liam keeps
the clergy in
subordina-
tion.

the crown yield to the church : he would not allow the canons of the synods, or even the bulls of the pope, to be enforced, till they had the sanction of the royal authority. The clergy raised no commotions during his reign.

CH A P. II.

Pontificate of Gregory VII.—His Quarrels with the Emperor Henry IV.

1073.
Hildebrand
pope, by the
name of
Gregory
VII.

AFTER the death of Alexander, Hildebrand was at last elected pope, though without the consent of the imperial court ; but he prudently deferred his consecration until the necessary approbation was obtained ; which was the more readily granted, because of this proof of his submission. The young emperor Henry IV. did not foresee the evils which such a pontiff would occasion. Gregory VII., the name assumed by the new pope, very soon shewed himself the enemy of all the kings in christendom. Austere, enterprising, and inflexible, his temper and prejudices made him capable of overturning kingdoms.

His system
of universal
monarchy.

It is very difficult to believe, that a simple monk, having become the head of the church, should aim at universal monarchy, look upon all Christian kings as his vassals, and seriously attempt to make them submit as such to his authority ; notwithstanding, it is evident from

his

his letters : besides, whoever will compare the former situation of the pontiffs with the power to which they were arrived at this period, may conceive, that an enterprising genius might form such a project, and perhaps greatly advance the execution, if he was possessed of equal vigour and address.

He began with declaring his pretensions to Spain, and demanded a tribute for the conquests gained from the Saracens : *For*, says he, in a letter to the Spaniards, *certainly you are not ignorant, that the kingdom of Spain, being formerly a part of St. Peter's domain, still belongs to none but the Holy See.* He prohibited them from making conquests, if they did not faithfully pay their tribute, wishing rather to see the kingdom still in the possession of infidels, than the church treated by her children as if they were her enemies. After such a declaration nothing is incredible.

He alledged that Spain belonged to the Holy See.

Philip I. king of France, a weak and vicious prince, having put a stop to the consecration of a bishop of Macon, and being also accused of selling benefices, Gregory wrote to the bishop of Chalons-sur-Saone, that the king must change his behaviour, or expect to be punished by the authority of St. Peter, and that *the French, against whom a general anathema shall be denounced, must refuse to obey him, if they do not rather choose to renounce the Christian faith*; upon which Philip sent ambassadors to assure him of his respect and obedience.

He threatens to make France revolt against Philip.

New complaints were very soon heard on account of a few pilgrims who had been used ill, and the extortions of some Italian merchants at a fair,

He sends dreadful orders to the bishops against the king.

a fair, which afforded a sufficient pretence for the pope to write to the bishops: *Your king, who passes his whole life in the commission of disgraceful crimes, is not a king, but a tyrant. If he will not hearken to you, separate yourselves from the service and communion of that prince, and lay all France under an interdict. If he is not corrected by this anathema, let him know, that, with the help of God, we will employ every means to free the kingdom from oppression.* In another letter, he rails against the detestable unexampled crime of Philip, king of France, or rather a devouring wolf and iniquitous tyrant. This atrocious crime was nothing more than having levied a contribution from some Italian merchants.

He delivers
up France
to the de-
spotic sway
of a legate.

Whether it was owing to Philip's having made a submission, or that the affairs of Germany prevented Gregory from prosecuting him, we find the tyrant continue on the throne; but France was given up to the tyranny of a dreadful legate, bishop of Die, a Frenchman, who became the scourge of the nation, ruling with the most despotic sway, holding councils against the orders of the king, deposing a number of bishops without any form of trial, requiring troops and money for the service of the pontiff; in one word, trampling all the rights both of the crown and episcopacy under his feet. Gregory alledged, that France should pay the tribute of, at least, a penny each house, as was paid by England; and though he could not effect this, he so far succeeded as to establish the primacy of Lyons, the only one which has prevailed

He wants
the king-
dom to pay
him tribute.

vailed against the ancient regulations of the national clergy.

Though he was constantly denouncing ex-communications against simony and the marriages of the clergy, he found it more difficult to contend with vices than with sovereigns: he forbid the people to hear mass from married priests, prohibited them from exercising any ecclesiastical function, and gave orders that celibacy should be religiously observed. So great was the influence of custom over church discipline, that these laws, published by a council held at Rome, appeared intolerable, and excited seditions. Gregory was treated as a heretic who corrupted the doctrine of Jesus Christ and St. Paul. *If he persists, we will rather renounce the priesthood than our wives, and he may find angels to govern his churches.* According to the historians of those times, this was the common language. Even Lanfranc could not put the law in force: at a council held in Winchester, he forbid the canons to keep wives, but permitted the priests in the country to keep theirs; only commanding, that, in future, none should be admitted into priests or deacons orders without taking a vow of chastity. A great part of the clergy and people, notwithstanding the ancient decrees of the councils, almost every where, at this time, looked upon ecclesiastical celibacy as no matter of duty. They exclaimed then in the West nearly as much as they would have done in the East, if a patriarch of Constantinople had attempted to make the Greek clergy submit to celibacy.

He could
not reduce
the married
priests to
discipline.

1075.
The right
of princes to
give the in-
vestiture of
the greater
benefices.

The pontiff had nothing so much at heart as to render the priesthood independent of princes, and thereby the more dependent on Rome. To alledge, that he looked upon celibacy as a means of attaining that end, because men who are without families have fewer inducements to attach them to society, is a conjecture hazarded by writers of doubtful authority; but there is no room to question the motive which occasioned the quarrel about investitures. The bishops and abbots holding their fiefs of the sovereigns, ought, as well as other lords, to receive the investiture from them. This ceremony put them in possession of the temporalities of the churches; and their dependence in this respect appears the more just, that in quality of lords they are richer and more powerful.

To render
the clergy
independ-
ent, Gre-
gory VII.
alleged,
that it was
simony.

The custom of investing them by a cross and ring, which the prince caused to be delivered to them, was established in Germany in the ninth century; and certainly nobody ever imagined, that the spiritual authority of a minister was intended to be conveyed to them by this ceremony; but however, Gregory VII. alledged, that it was so, on purpose to find a specious pretence of annihilating that right of sovereign princes. He treated the act of investiture as simoniacal, and, at a council held in Rome, forbid the clergy from receiving it at the hands of the laity, under pain of excommunication. The bishops of Germany, eager to withdraw from the authority of the emperor, could not fail to support this proceeding with zeal, and those of other countries were equally interested.

Such

Such was the source of the wars between the priesthood and the empire, which were the more dreadful, as they led to the spilling human blood upon religious pretences.

As real simony was common, at that time, all over Europe, false zeal found reasons to disguise its actions. Kings who had scarce any power, territory, or money, were glad to derive some advantage from the benefices, and did not hesitate sometimes to sell them; nor was there any difficulty in finding purchasers: this was the effect of the manners and circumstances of the times. We have likewise seen the papal throne sold to a number of purchasers, by the clergy who elected the popes. Where did disorder not prevail? Is a right invalidated by being abused?

Real simony at that time very common, furnished him with pretences.

Gregory wanted chiefly to fall upon Henry IV. a courageous young prince, who was misled by his youthful passions, and had traded in benefices; he was at that time engaged in a war with the rebels of Saxony, whose insolence had carried them so far as to make them propose to him to decide by a duel, whether or not he should continue emperor. During this civil war, Rome had already given him disturbance, and he had the prudence to shew some condescension upon the occasion: he even requested Gregory to excommunicate the Saxons as being guilty of sacrilege; but they applied to the same tribunal, accusing him of simony and other crimes. They were soon obliged to submit, but the pontiff prepared his thunders against the emperor.

He disturbs the emperor Henry IV. who was at war with the Saxons.

1076.
He summons
Henry to
appear be-
fore him.
The em-
peror deposes
him at
Worms.

The pope
in council
deposes
Henry.

The coun-
tess Matilda
assists at
that council.

The terms of accommodation had been just settled at a diet, when two legates suddenly arrived, and summoned Henry to appear before the pope on an appointed day, to answer the accusations of his subjects. He replied to this insult, by causing the pope to be deposed in a council held at Worms, observing to him afterwards, that a sovereign has no judge but God alone, and cannot be deposed for any crime, especially if he has not renounced the faith. (A remarkable and very hazardous restriction, for it was easy to accuse a prince of heresy who seemed to attack the church in the person of her chief.) Upon which the pontiff, in full council, in the name of St. Peter, pronounced a thundering anathema, by which he deprived Henry both of his German and Italian dominions, absolving all his subjects from their oath of fidelity, and prohibiting them from acknowledging him as their sovereign. This was the first instance of a king being deposed by a pope; but this sentence served as a precedent for many others.

Nothing is perhaps more extraordinary, than to see the celebrated countess Matilda, and her mother Beatrice, assisting in the council at Rome, where the deposition was pronounced. They were sovereigns of a great part of Italy, and blindly devoted to Gregory, whom they encouraged, by promising to employ their whole force against Henry, though their near relation. This was not the slightest ground for the confidence of the pope, who was likewise acquainted

quainted with the disposition of the Germans to rebel.

He took care to justify such an odious enterprise in his usual manner, by employing sophistry instead of proofs. *If the Holy See (said he in his letter to the bishop of Metz) has received a power from God to judge in spirituals, why not in temporals? If spiritual men must be judged, wherefore ought not the secular to be punished for their offences? They perhaps imagine, that the royal dignity is superior to the pontifical, but the difference may be known by their origin. The one has been invented by the pride of men, the other instituted by divine goodness; the one pursues vain glory; the other aspires only after heaven, &c.* From such reasonings we may conclude, that royalty should be abolished, and the sovereign pontiff acknowledged the sole master of the world.

Sophistry of Gregory against crowned heads.

Gregory, by his letters, his legates, and some fanatical devotees sent on purpose into Germany, made his sentence of equal weight as if it had been pronounced by God. Provoked at the scandalous sale of benefices, at some oppressions, and the licentious life of the prince, the Germans, even those who had deposed the pope, did not hesitate to declare against the emperor. An assembly held at Tibur deliberated upon taking the most violent measures, and Henry humbled himself so far as to make an offer of resigning his government into the hands of the lords, provided that he might retain the title and ensigns of royalty. It was determined, that the pope should be in-

His sentence determines the Germans to revolt.

Henry was declared to be deposed, if he did not get himself absolved in a year.

vited to decide the affair at Augsbourg; that if the emperor did not get himself absolved from the excommunication within a year, he should forfeit the crown irrecoverably; that in the meantime he should live at Spire, as a person excommunicated, excluded from the church, and debarred from discharging any public office. They imagined, at that time, that being excommunicated a whole year, *according to the Teutonic law*, would deprive him of all fiefs, and his whole property. The Germans seemed to embrace slavery, while forging chains for the emperor.

C H A P. III.

Continuation of the Disputes of Gregory VII. with the Emperor.—Death of William the Conqueror.

1077.
Henry goes to beg mercy of the pope at Canosa.

HENRY, depressed by disgrace, obliged to yield to the dictates of rebels, and afraid of the consequences of a sentence which he could not prevent, came to a resolution to go and beg mercy of the pope his oppressor, and presented himself as an humble penitent, at Canosa, on the Apennines, a town belonging to the countess Matilda, where Gregory resided with her. This fortress was surrounded with a triple inclosure of walls. Henry was stopped at the second, and obliged to wait three days bare-

FOURTH EPOCH A.

247

barefooted, and without a servant, in the middle of winter, until it pleased the pope to give him audience; which he at last obtained by dint of prayers and promises, after having submitted to so severe a trial. Upon engaging to appear before the German diet, to submit to the sentence of the pope, to lose his crown if it was the will of his holiness, and in the meantime not to discharge any of the functions of royalty, he received absolution. Henry swore to whatever was proposed to him.

He is absolved, upon severe conditions.

Gregory then said mass, and having consumed one half of the host as a proof of his innocence, presented the other half to Henry, inviting him to take the same method of justifying himself; but the prince undoubtedly being affected with religious sentiments, begged to be excused, on pretence that the absent would not be satisfied with this proof.

Proof of the eucharist, to which the pope wants to make him submit.

The Lombards, in the meantime, dissatisfied with Gregory, and exclaiming against the weakness and dishonour to which Henry had submitted, threatened to dethrone him, and place his son in his stead. This circumstance revived his courage; he violated his oath, and recovered the affections of the Lombards; but the Germans, espousing the cause of the pontiff, deposed him, and at the diet chose Rodolphus duke of Suabia in his place.

The Lombards make Henry break his oath.

The Germans depose him, and choose Rodolphus.

Gregory, at first, durst not declare for either party, but gave out, that he would decide in favour of him who should be most submissive to the Holy See. At last, he determined that his legates should judge the affair upon the spot,

Gregory wants to judge the two princes,

and denounced anathemas against whoever attempted to obstruct them. *We bind him*, said he in his decree, *not only in mind but in body, depriving his life of prosperity, and his arms of victory*. People would have thought, that fortune and the elements were at his disposal.

1080.
His issues
an absurd
and odious
decree a-
gainst
Henry.

After some unfortunate expeditions, Rodolphus at last gained a victory, which turned the scale in his favour. Immediately the haughty Gregory, in a council at Rome, again deprived Henry of the sovereignty of Germany and Italy, stripping him of all power and royal dignity, forbidding all Christians to obey him as their sovereign, and condemning him to have no power in battle, or even to be victorious. Such is the language of the decree, which he concludes with an apostrophe to St. Peter and St. Paul, conceived in the following terms: *Shew then the whole world that, if you can bind and loose in heaven, upon earth you can give or take away empires, kingdoms, principalities, dukedoms, marquisates, earldoms, and the possessions of all men according to their demerits. . . . Let the kings and princes of the age know your power; let them tremble who despise the commands of your church! Let your justice be immediately manifested upon Henry, that there may be no doubt of his having fallen by your power, and not by chance!*

His extraor-
dinary apos-
trophe to
St. Peter.

His maxims
in favour of
the pontiffs
and clergy.

We have a second letter to Heriman, bishop of Metz, which unmasks the opinions of Gregory, and his principles of unexampled despotism: he there alledges that the meanest exorcist has higher authority than any lay-lord; for the exorcist commands devils, to whom wicked

wicked princes are slaves: that the priests are evidently superior to kings, because they judge kings, and can absolve them from their sins: that good Christians, even of the lowest rank, ought to be regarded as kings, rather than vicious princes, for the one are members of Jesus Christ, and the others of the devil: that with greater reason the popes are superior to all, being rendered impeccable by the papacy; and since the time of St. Peter, almost a hundred popes have been reckoned among the greatest saints. How was it possible, that, after the scandalous enormities of the tenth and eleventh centuries, any man could presume to make holiness a kind of privilege inherent in the pontificate? Opinion has frequently gone so far as to change absurdities into fundamental doctrines; and canonists have declared in their writings, *that the pope is neither a God nor a man, but a middle being.*

He supposes
the popes
are impecc-
eable.

Aburdities
of some
canonists.

Henry, who was more disposed by nature to acts of violence than Gregory, enraged at the affronts which he had suffered, broke through all bounds. He caused the pope to be deposed in a council, and Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, to be chosen in his place. Having defeated Rodolphus, who fell in the action, he returned to Italy with his antipope and an army; but Gregory had contrived to procure assistance. Besides the countess Matilda, who was governed by him, and had shewn her attachment to the Holy See, by a donation of all her dominions, he could depend upon Robert Guiscard, duke of Calabria and La
Puglia,

1081.
Henry de-
feats Rodol-
phus, and
marches
against
Gregory,

who is
protected by
Matilda and
the Nor-
mans.

Puglia, and the other Normans. Though he had formerly thundered anathemas against them, he behaved to them upon this occasion with all the address of a skilful politician. A bloody war was again kindled in defence of the pontiff, who undoubtedly forgot that he ought to have been a minister of peace.

1084.
He is be-
sieged, and
delivered
by Robert
Guiscard.

After different expeditions and a long siege, Henry IV. made himself master of Rome, where he was crowned emperor by Guibert, who had been enthroned by the name of Clement III. Gregory, who was excommunicated by a council at Utrecht, remained shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, till he was delivered by Robert Guiscard, who flew to his assistance; but not thinking himself safe in Rome, after fulminating new excommunications against the antipope and emperor, he retired to Salerno, and died the following year, 1085. His last expression, which was borrowed from the Holy Scriptures, would have been worthy of the greatest saint: *I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile.*

Death of
Gregory
VII.

To what
length the
prejudices
respecting
excommu-
nication
were carried
in his time.

The attempts of Gregory VII. may in some degree be excused, from the prejudices which had been established by forged decretals, and were continually increasing through the ignorance of the times. They went such lengths with respect to excommunication, that the person excommunicated seemed to be totally excluded from civil society. Whoever held any commerce with him was, in his turn, excommunicated; and they who had any communication with the last were also excommunicated; and

and so on by infinite progression. This exclusion did not relate solely to religious communication, but likewise to the ordinary transactions of life, and even to things the most indispensable. Gregory thought he had shewn great *lenity* by excepting the wives, children, and servants, of those people who were excommunicated, and permitting them to supply with necessaries those who were under the yoke of excommunication. According to such principles, which were very different from the ancient regulations, an excommunicated prince must of course be deposed.

This pope frequently repeated, in his letters, these words of Jeremiah: *Cursed is he who dyeth not his sword in blood.* He applied them very ill, and forgot the true principles of his holy ministry: but whence could he derive the idea that France, England, Spain, Denmark, Hungary, Dalmatia, Poland, even Russia, &c. owed him the tribute, homage, and oath of fidelity, which he required? that Saxony had been given to the Roman church by Charlemagne? that the emperor of Germany, elected after Rodolphus, should acknowledge himself his vassal, and obey him in every thing? that the empire which was attached to the German crown must of course hold of the See of Rome, though the emperors had the incontestible right of confirming the election of the pontiffs? If prejudice and spiritual arms could have established such a system, this new empire of the priesthood would have eclipsed the conquests of the

His pretensions to universal dominion.

the Romans, who had been so formidable in ancient times.

William the Conqueror refuses to pay him homage,

and obliged him to court him.

How that prince behaved to the bishop of Bayeux, who was guilty of treason.

The conqueror of England, by his steady politics, was the only one who made himself respected by a pope who trampled crowns beneath his feet. Gregory having summoned him to do homage and pay a tribute (for that was the name he gave to the *Peter-pence*, which the devotion of king Offa had settled as an offering), William replied, that he was very willing to pay him the *Peter-pence*, as had been the custom; but instead of doing homage, he enjoined the bishops not to go to Rome to hold a council; and Gregory gave orders to his legate not to irritate him. "Though he does not behave so religiously in some things as we could wish," says the pope in his letter, "however, as he does not sell benefices, nor join the enemies of the Holy See, and has even sworn to make the priests leave their wives, and the laity to quit the tythes, he deserves to be more respected than the other kings."

We may judge by the following anecdote what would have been the conduct of William, if the clergy had revolted. The bishop of Bayeux, his uterine brother, laid a plot to go to Rome with a considerable treasure, accompanied by a great many nobles, in the hopes of being elected pope. The king, informed of the conspiracy, reproached him with being guilty of treason, and commanded the lords to arrest him; but no one daring to lay hands on a prelate,

a prelate, he seized him himself. The brother claimed the ecclesiastical immunities. *I do not arrest the bishop*, cried William, *I only arrest the earl*, for he had made him earl of Kent.

This monarch was the oppressor of England, where he exercised with the utmost rigour the right of the sword, by which he gained the crown. Some insurrections of the English afforded him a pretence for subduing them, and perhaps he could not by any other means have brought them to submission; so afflicting to mankind are conquests. He stripped them of their property to reward his followers; he endeavoured to annihilate their laws and customs, and even their language: the public acts and the pleadings of the courts were in French: in a word, he rendered his government hateful; but he knew how to give it stability: his politics were those of a bold and able despot.

He reigned
despotic in
England.

One of his sons, whom he intended to succeed him as duke of Normandy, wanted to get possession before his time, and being secretly supported by the court of France, revolted. William pursued the rebel; concealed by their helmets, and unknown to each other, they met in the field and engaged; when the king, being wounded, fell from his horse; upon which prince Robert (that was the name of the rebel) discovering that it was his father, instantly threw himself at his feet, and with difficulty procured his pardon.

He fights
with one of
his sons.

Philip I., king of France, by an indiscreet raillery, exposed himself to the anger of a dangerous vassal more powerful than himself. Wil-

1087.
He revenges
himself for
a piece of
raillery of
Philip I.

liam

His sentiments upon his death-bed.

liam being provoked took up arms, and penetrating as far as Mante, burnt that city, and would have carried his rage to Paris, if he had not been prevented by a deadly disorder. When upon his death-bed he reproached himself with having spilled so much human blood, but to dispel his fears of futurity, he enumerated his good works: he congratulated himself upon the respect he had shewn to the church, on having raised Lanfranc and Anselmo, and other illustrious monks, to the highest dignities; on having augmented and enriched ten abbeys founded by his family; and upon having established seventeen new monasteries of monks and seven of nuns in Normandy. He gave orders that his treasures should be distributed among the churches and the poor. In this manner did some men expect to be looked upon as saints, after having been the scourges of the human race. He was succeeded in England by his second son William Rufus, who seized the crown by force of arms; Robert, the eldest, had only Normandy and Maine; Henry, the youngest, who at first had scarce any share in the succession, at last gained possession of the whole.

C H A P.

CHAP. IV.

Pontificate of Urban II.—He prosecutes the Affair of Investitures.—He keeps upon good Terms with none but the Normans.

GREGORY VII. still seemed to reign in the person of his successors. The abbot of Monte-Cassino, whom he had recommended on his death-bed, and who was elected by the name of Victor III. immediately renewed the decree against investitures, and deposed every emperor, king, duke, marquis, &c. that should prove refractory to this ordinance. He expressly declared, that all were heretics who were guilty of simony; that is to say, both the princes who gave, and the beneficiaries who received, investiture. The quarrel was rendered more furious by this pretended heresy. Victor died when assisting at the council where his decree was published in the year 1087. Another monk, a native of France, and who had become bishop of Ostia, likewise recommended by Gregory VII. as worthy of the pontificate, was next elected to the See, and took the name of Urban II. This pope, on his accession, wrote letters to every kingdom in Christendom, declaring that he would faithfully follow the maxims of Gregory; so that new storms were to be expected.

Victor III. declares all who were guilty of simony heretics.

His death.

Urban II. takes Gregory for his model.

1092.
Scandalous
divorce of
Philip I.
king of
France.

Philip I. of France brought a dreadful one upon himself, by his scandalous divorce from his queen Bertha, who had borne several children to him. Having fallen in love with Bertrade, third wife of the count of Anjou, he alledged the common pretence of kindred against the queen; which was the more easily done, as the prohibition of marriages with relations to the seventh generation had been lately revived. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the celebrated Yves bishop of Chartres, he not only divorced her, but very soon married his mistress, whom he had carried off from her husband.

He is ex-
communicated by
the pope's
legate.

Urban II. immediately interfered in this affair, and in his letter threatened, that if the king persisted, *he would pierce the adulterous Midianites with a sword more sharp than that of Phineas.* His legate, at a council in Autun, thundered his anathemas against the emperor Henry IV. and Guibert the antipope, who were excommunicated with Philip. The king submitted to the excommunication without parting from Bertrade, and derived new hopes from the death of Bertha. Bertrade, even with the consent of the count of Anjou, maintained that her first marriage was null. The evil might have been remedied with gentleness; but the pope preferred violent measures.

1095.
Urban ex-
communicates him
again in the
council of
Clermont.

His mind being filled with the great project of the crusades, which we shall have occasion to mention in another place, he arrived in France to stir up the enthusiasm of that people, who were but too much inclined to such enterprises.

prises. For this purpose he held the council of Clermont; and there once more excommunicated Philip, after having forbidden princes to give investiture, and bishops and priests to pay them homage. He commanded wherever he went: he formed a league, and levied troops, without the consent of the prince in whose territories he was born. He next travelled from province to province, preaching up, or commanding the people, in the name of God, to join in the holy war; deposing bishops, and lavishing privileges on the monks, whom the politics of Gregory and his successors thought so useful to the court of Rome by their zeal for its service. At the council held by the pope at Nimes, the monks were transformed into cherubims; and all who did not believe them destined to the offices of the holy ministry, and administering the sacraments, were taxed with folly. It is, however, certain, that by their institution they were devoted to solitude; but it must be confessed, at the same time, that the generality of the other priests were unworthy of their profession.

He commands as sovereign,

Privileges lavished on the monks.

So strong was the influence of monastic ideas, that the following remarkable canon was enacted the same year at Rouen: *Every man shall be shorn as a Christian ought to be; without which he shall be expelled from the church; and no priest shall perform divine service for him, nor assist at his burying.* Anselmo the monk, and successor of Lanfranc in the see of Canterbury, who was famous for his disputes with the kings of England on the subject of the homage which he refused, com-

Decree which makes it a crime to wear long hair.

manded, that all the laity should have their hair cut so short as to expose their ears. For the sake of peace Henry I. conformed to the canon.

Whimsical
decrees
against in-
vestitures,
and against
the homage
due to
crowned
heads.

It is highly deserving our attention to observe how dangerous a wrong turn of mind, a whimsical idea, or only the abuse of words, is, in cases where religion seems to be concerned. All the councils thundered against investitures, and treated the homage paid to sovereigns by the clergy as a sacrilegious abomination: *For, said Urban II., in a new council held at Rome, in the year 1099, it is execrable to see hands that have been employed to do what has not been permitted to any of the angels, to create the creating God, and to offer him up to his Father for the salvation of mankind, reduced to the degrading meanness of being the slaves of hands stained day and night with impurities, with blood and rapine.* In the form of doing homage, the vassal puts his hands between those of the lord paramount. This was the crime so debasing to the priesthood. It is impossible to reply to such reasonings, supported by anathemas.

Absurd rea-
sons on
which they
were found-
ed.

The cross is the symbol of pastoral authority, said the bishops and monks; the ring, that of the spiritual marriage of the prelate with his church; they then, who give investiture by the cross and ring, pretend to give the holy spirit, and are therefore guilty of simony and heresy.

The interest
of the popes
and the su-
perior cler-
gy was the
principal
motive.

But whoever examines things to the bottom, and penetrates the meaning of these deceitful words, will find it evident, that the interest of the superior clergy, but more especially of the popes, gave birth to this odious quarrel. The
bishops

bishops wanted to render themselves independent of the crown; the popes wanted that the bishops should depend solely upon the court of Rome; both the one and the other, perhaps, concealed the true motive, and concealed it under the mask of religion. Yves bishop of Chartres, a virtuous and enlightened prelate, adhering to the true principles, was the only one who in his writings maintained, that the kings, by giving investiture, did not mean to convey any thing spiritual; that they only approved of the election, or granted to the person elected the lands for which the church was indebted to the liberality of princes; that therefore it was of little consequence what sort of ceremony was employed, whether the hand, the mouth, a motion of the head, or the cross. Reasoning too sound to be relished.

Yves bishop
of Chartres,
a better rea-
soner on in-
vestiture,

A striking proof of the secret motive with which all was animated, is the conduct of the pope to the Norman princes, whose power daily increased. Robert Guiscard had married his daughter to the son of Michael Ducas, emperor of Constantinople, after having seized almost all that remained to the empire in Italy: he then carried the war as far as Greece; and having made the emperor Alexis Comnenus tremble, died at Corfu in the year 1085. His talents and valour revived in his son Bohemond, one of the most celebrated heroes of the crusade. Sicily already belonged to the Normans, having been conquered by Roger, the youngest of that family, who had been brought from the extremity of France to settle in Italy. The Saracens and

The Nor-
mans be-
come very
powerful in
Italy.

They had
conquered
Sicily.

Greeks, who were settled in that island, submitted, on condition that their religion and laws should be preserved. Robert Guiscard, leader of the expedition, had given the investiture of it, with the title of Count, to Roger.

1098.
Urban II.
sends a le-
gate *a latere*
to Sicily.

Though the Norman princes acknowledged themselves the vassals of the Holy See, there were none so little the slaves of the court of Rome. Urban II. wanted to have a legate *a latere* in Sicily, as well as in other places, to command in his name. From the time of Nicholas I. these ministers of the pope, who were sent all over Christendom, ruled sovereigns, oppressed the clergy, and ruined the people; they judged, commanded, and punished most arbitrarily, with a despotism which prejudice had rendered respectable. Hildebrand had made the yoke more grievous; and in fact, at this time, Rome governed as effectually by opinion, as she had formerly done by her arms. What the kings of France submitted to, a Norman gentleman would not suffer. Urban had sent his legate, but count Roger would not permit him to exercise the powers of his office; and shewed such steady resolution, that the pontiff, finding the necessity of keeping upon good terms with him, gave to the count and his heirs the authority of legate in Sicily; that is to say, gave him the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Count Ro-
ger will not
admit him,
and the pope
gives the
authority of
legate to the
count.

Bull of the
monarchy
of Sicily.

His celebrated bull, which has been preserved by the monk Geoffrey de Maletterre, a historian of that time, declares; *We shall not establish any legate of the Roman church in your territories, without your consent; and it is our pleasure, that what-*
soever

never we would have done by a legate, shall be executed by you, as if you were our legate a latere. This extraordinary privilege, which is called *the monarchy of Sicily*, has been constantly maintained, notwithstanding every effort of the court of Rome to get it abolished. After all, what is it that the pope grants? The power which the Roman emperors and Charlemagne possessed with regard to church government. What surprises at one time is customary at another.

Urban the Second, dying the year after, was succeeded by Pascal II., a monk of Clugny, who had been made cardinal by Gregory VII.; as haughty and enterprising as Gregory himself, whose disposition seemed to be inherent in the papacy. William Rufus, king of England, hearing that the new pope resembled Anselmo archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he had so many disputes, exclaimed, *He is good for nothing, then; but let him be what he will, his papacy shall not reach to me.* This violent monarch spared neither priests nor monks; and it is therefore imagined, that they have painted him in worse colours than he deserved, although he merited very great censure.

At a council of Poitiers, the legates of Pascal excommunicated king Philip anew, notwithstanding the interposition of William count of Poitiers, and duke of Aquitaine, who in vain attempted to ward off the blow. Part of those who assisted at the council rose in a riot; a shower of stones was discharged upon the legates and bishops, and one of the priests had his skull fractured. Such insults to religion should

1099.
Pascal II.
imitates his
predecessor
Urban II.

Expression
of William
Rufus
against the
Pope.

King Philip again excommunicated.

Acts of violence.

have served as a warning. Bertrade, against whom the anathema was levelled equally with the king, laughed at it, and wanted to hear mass said at Sens, where all the churches were shut against them. She caused one of the gates to be broken open, and a priest, who was attached to her, performed the ceremony.

He humbles himself, and, with Bertrade, gets absolution.

Philip, however, earnestly solicited absolution, and at last prevailed with the pope. He went bare-footed to a council at Paris with Bertrade, to swear, that they would give up a commerce which they could not get legitimated. Being absolved by a legate, they still continued to live together; and their children were declared capable of inheriting the crown. From hence it was believed, that their marriage had been approved, and that Pascal dissembled, because he had more weighty business to engage his attention.

C H A P. V.

New Attempts of the Popes against the Emperor Henry IV.—His miserable Death.—Henry V., by whom he was dethroned, follows his Example.—End of the Disputes about Investitures.

The pope stirs up Conrad, the son of Henry IV., against his father.

THE emperor Henry IV., against whom the anathemas of Rome were constantly levelled, was a dreadful proof of the ills produced by the abuse of ecclesiastical power:
Urban

Urban II. and the countess Matilda persuaded his son Conrad, who was openly supported in Italy, to rebel against him. The emperor prevailed with a diet to deprive Conrad of the right of succession in favour of his second son Henry, who swore that he would not revolt. This oath was deemed necessary; so much had the prevailing superstitions effaced the laws of nature. Conrad died soon after. Henry IV. hoped to correct abuses, by publishing some laws to cause the important affairs of the church to be regulated by a national tribunal, composed of lords and bishops, and to prevent the pope from exercising the authority of supreme judge; but these laws only served to provoke his enemies.

1097.

Henry punishes the rebel, and makes laws to restrain the power of the pope.

Pascal II., by whom he had been already excommunicated, according to custom, artfully impelled the young Henry to take up arms against his father, on pretence of defending the cause of the church, and absolved him from his oath, as if that had been the sole obstruction to his committing so atrocious a crime. The father, by a most affecting letter, invited the rebel to repent; but he replied, that he neither acknowledged an excommunicated person for his father nor his king. However, they agreed to have an interview, which only served to give the son an opportunity of completing his treachery, by arresting the emperor, and compelling him to renounce the throne. Young Henry was crowned at Mentz, in presence of the pope's ministers, while the father could not even obtain absolution; he made his escape, and, after hav-

1105.
Pascal II. makes his other son rebel against him.

The son betrays and dethrones the father.

ing assembled an army, was irrecoverably defeated.

Henry IV.
reduced to
beg a pre-
bend for
subsistence.

His death.

His body
dug up.

Courageous
fidelity of
the clergy
of Liege.

Being reduced to extreme misery, he applied to the bishop of Spire to give him a prebend for his subsistence; representing, that he was capable of officiating as a chanter or reader: even this favour was refused; and he died at Liege, in the year 1106, after having sent his sword and crown to the rebel. To complete the horrid scene, the unnatural son caused his body to be dug up by order of the pontiff; for an excommunicated prince was to be persecuted even beyond the grave. This prince had both vices and virtues, and perhaps would have reigned gloriously, if the popes had behaved to him like pastors, and not despots. It is said, that he had been engaged in sixty-six battles.

It is worthy of our attention to observe, that, the bishops of Cambray and Liege continuing attached to him, Pascal II. stirred up the count of Flanders to take up arms against them, and he was seconded by the invectives of the monks; but the clergy of Liege, in a letter addressed to *well-wishers*, vindicated the obedience of subjects, and shewed the injustice of the pope. "If the emperor is a heretic," said they prudently, "we are sorry for it; but even should he be so, we still think it our duty to obey him, and to pray for his conversion, instead of rebelling against his power. From whence do the popes derive the power of drawing the sword of murder, and saying to the count of Flanders, *We command you to carry on this war for the re-*
mission

"mission of your sins? &c." The people of Liege were excommunicated, and suffered all the calamities of war. To join F. Longueval the Jesuit, and condemn their apology as an insult, we must be persuaded that the pope was in the right.

When Henry V. had taken advantage of the excommunication denounced against his father, and triumphed by his parricide, he was not afraid to maintain the same right of investiture against the pope, which he had formerly thought deserving of the most dreadful anathemas. Pascal II., foreseeing fresh disturbances, went into France; where the popes had been accustomed to insult the kings, and at the same time to find resources. Philip I. and his son Louis, who was joined with him in the sovereignty, notwithstanding the grounds they had for resenting the behaviour of the popes, promised whatever he required, and ordered the bishops to follow him to Chalons-sur-Marne, to hold a conference with the ambassadors of Henry V. It must be owned, that the French, like the other nations, were at that time slaves to the pontificate.

The disputes at the conference were very warm, but ended in nothing: according to the common custom of reasoning without principles, the pope maintained, that the church, which had been redeemed with the blood of Jesus Christ, ought not to be allowed to sink again into servitude; that she must be the slave of princes, if she could not choose a prelate without their consent; that it was insulting God to give investiture by the cross and ring, which belonged to the altar;

Henry V.
become emperor by his
parricide,
maintains
the right of
investiture.

Pascal II.
goes to
France to
ask succour.

1107.
Conference
with the
ambassadors
of Henry V.

Aburd reasonings of
the Pope.

The ambaf-
fadors appeal
from them
to the sword.

altar; and that it was a great dishonour for consecrated hands to be placed between the bloody hands of a layman. The German ambassadors had given better reasons, and did not deign to reply to these sophisms; but, transported with rage, exclaimed, *At Rome the sword shall decide the dispute.* After their departure, Pascal, in a council at Troyes, denounced new anathemas against investitures.

Henry I.
king of Eng-
land, re-
nounces in-
vestiture
from policy.

It seems that the claim was renounced in France. Henry I. king of England, third son of William the Conqueror, had likewise relinquished it; because the pope consented, that the bishops should do homage, which had formerly been prohibited, as well as the investiture; and from policy he took care to be on good terms with the clergy. He not only had usurped the crown, in prejudice of his eldest brother Robert duke of Normandy, who was one of the heroes of the crusade, but likewise seized his dukedom, and kept him confined in prison. What a number of causes for anathemas being denounced against him, if he had not been prudent enough to accommodate matters with the pope!

1111.
The empe-
ror goes into
Italy with
an army.

In the mean time Henry V. being resolved to get himself crowned at Rome, and to maintain his privilege by force of arms, marched with an army into Italy. Pascal was too late in his application to the Norman princes, his vassals; and, for want of assistance, was obliged to enter into a negotiation at Sutri, where it was agreed, that the emperor should renounce the investitures, not interrupt the freedom of elections, restore the

Pascal en-
ters into an
agreement
which can-
not be exe-
cuted.

the domains of St. Peter, and make no attempt upon the life or liberty of the pontiff: on the other hand, the pope agreed to restore the *regale*; that is, the lands, the fiefs, all the regal rights, either usurped from the crown, or bestowed by the liberality of princes; that he would crown Henry, and give him succours. It was impossible to execute this treaty; and neither party was sincere, or had any confidence in the other.

Henry was received at Rome, and declared emperor by Pascal; but the bishops were very far from agreeing to the restitution of the *regale*, without which the emperor would not give up the right of investiture. The pope refused to crown him, if he did not absolutely renounce it; the nobles and prelates in the train of the emperor, declared the convention of Sutri null; upon which they immediately quarrelled, and the pope was made prisoner. He then authenticated the right of investiture, crowned Henry, and presenting to him one half of the host during mass, *As this part of the vivifying body is separated from the other*, said he, *so may whoever of us breaks this treaty be separated from the kingdom of Jesus Christ!* Henry asked leave to bury his father, whose body had been dug up by order of the court of Rome, and obtained it; but not before some bishops had attested, that Henry died a penitent.

He had scarcely set out to discharge that duty, when complaints were heard every where against Pascal. The pontiff, who had already repented of the treaty, zealously seized the opportunity of breaking it; at a council held in Rome, he declared

They quarrel again, and the pope admits the right of investiture.

Henry IV. buried.

1112. Pascal very soon declares the treaty null.

Fanatical
rage against
the empe-
ror, and
against in-
vestitures.

clared it null, and vowed an eternal attachment to the decrees of Gregory VII. and Urban II. The investitures were anathematized by the council, and a violent fanaticism let loose its rage against the emperor, who was excommunicated at Vienne, in Dauphiny, a city in his own dominions. Conon, the legate, excommunicated him likewise at Jerusalem, and held councils in Greece, Hungary, Saxony, Lorraine, and France, to fulminate new sentences against him. A monk, who was abbot of Vendome, carried his zeal so far as to accuse the pope of prevarication; and in a letter, which he wrote to him upon that subject, alledges, that to submit to investiture, *according to the fathers*, is heresy; and, by granting it, the faith, purity, and liberty of the church are destroyed. Josceram, archbishop of Lyons, writing with the same warmth, confesses that, properly speaking, the investiture is not a heresy; but to believe it lawful, certainly is one. To what is religion not exposed by uniting the prejudices of ignorance and party spirit with its doctrines!

Excommu-
nication
and civil
wars.

Rebellion, civil war, and massacres, were revived; the decrees of the church were become sanguinary laws; Pascal was afraid, that by excommunicating the emperor he would perjure himself; but the legates and councils did it sufficiently, and the Saxons and other rebels procured him ample means of being revenged.

Death of
Matilda.

While all Germany was in flames, the famous countess Matilda died, who had been the slave and support of the court of Rome ever since the time of Gregory VII. She was in possession of
Tuscany,

Tuscany, Parma, Placentia, almost all Lombardy, Spoleto, &c. she was sole heiress of the duke and marquis Boniface, her father, and of her mother, the duchess Beatrix, of the family of Charlemagne. She was the widow of Godfrey Crookback, duke of Lorraine, and married Guelph, duke of Bavaria, from whom she was divorced. Some time before her death she renewed the bequest of all her territories to the Holy See, which could not fail to occasion fresh disturbances. The greatest part being fiefs of the empire, she had no right to dispose of them; but it is not surprising that Gregory VII. thought the title sufficient; however, the emperor came to take possession of his dominions.

Her bequest
to the pope.

The greatest
part of her
territories
were fiefs
of the em-
pire.

He came to Rome, from whence Pascal II. had fled for refuge to the Normans, and was crowned again by Maurice Bourdin, a legate entirely devoted to his interest. After having excommunicated this legate, and endeavoured to recover Rome, Pascal died, and was succeeded by Gelasius II., an old monk of Clugny. The emperor not being able to prevail with Gelasius to approve of investiture, set up Bourdin as antipope. Though Gelasius was at first protected by the Normans in Italy, he was obliged to fly to France; where he died, and was replaced by the archbishop of Vienna, who took the name of Calixtus II.

1117.
Henry V. in
possession of
Rome.

Bourdin an-
tipope.

This pope was a relation of Henry, and wished to put an end to the dispute, without relinquishing the plans of his predecessors. While he was holding a council at Reims, Henry came to confer with him in person near Mouzon; but as they

Calixtus II.
absolves the
subjects of
the emperor
from their
oath of fide-
lity.

Expression
of the king
of England
on the re-
spect due to
oaths,

they did not agree, the conference was soon over. New excommunications were fulminated against the prince, and the subjects absolved from their oath of fidelity. Oaths were no longer regarded, when they could be annulled by the word of a pontiff. Calixtus ought to have been convinced of the hatefulness of this abuse, from the answer of the king of England, whom he urged to restore a prelate, who had entered into a dispute with the crown. Henry I. excusing himself by saying, that he had sworn never to re-establish him; *I am pope, said Calixtus, I will absolve you from your oath.* The king answered, *And what credit will be given to oaths, if it is seen, from my own example, that they can be cancelled by absolution?*

The pope
triumphs
haughtily
over Bour-
din.

The pope's principal object was to expel Bourdin, the antipope, who reigned in Italy; and the Norman princes having supplied him with the means, he besieged him in Sutri. This unfortunate man was delivered up to him by the inhabitants, who loaded him with reproaches when he was led to Rome riding backwards upon a camel, and exposed to the insults of an enraged populace; after which he was thrown into prison for life. The pope every where proclaimed his victory, and caused himself to be painted with Bourdin at his feet. Moderation would have done him more honour, but that was a virtue no longer known.

1122.
The empe-
ror in danger
agrees with
the pope
about the
investiture.

The emperor was likewise obliged at last to submit. The Saxons, who were always in rebellion, had forced him to enter into a disgraceful treaty; the archbishop of Mentz had raised

an

an army to oppose the investitures and the sovereign, and the throne was upon the point of being overturned by excommunications. Henry prudently sought for safety in a peace, which was concluded in a diet held at Worms; where he not only gave up the right of investiture *by the cross and ring*, but likewise the nomination to benefices, and even the *regale of Saint Peter*; that is, the sovereignty of the territories of the church. The pope consented, that the election of bishops and abbots should be made freely in his presence, and that the persons elected should be invested with the regale *by the sceptre*.

Thus, by substituting the sceptre to the cross and ring, one of the most dreadful disputes that ever distracted the human race was brought to a conclusion. There needs no better proof of the cruelty and absurdity of superstition; for if the giving or receiving investiture be a heresy, as had been frequently decreed, what signified whether it was performed with a cross or a sceptre?

This accommodation proves the absurdity of the quarrel.

“ Nothing less was required, says Muratori, “ to eradicate an abuse which had insensibly “ crept into the church, against all the ancient “ customs, that had always maintained the “ freedom of elections, by openly condemning “ simony.” Had this respectable author forgotten, that even the practices of antiquity degenerated into abuse, when the face of the church had been changed by ignorance and the passions? How were elections carried? How are they at this day in some countries? Besides, whether the prelates were chosen according to the

Opinion of Muratori on this subject.

the canons, or nominated by princes, they equally received investiture; so that this reflexion of Muratori seems to be ill founded.

1123.
General
council of
the Lateran.

The bishops
attack the
monks.

A general council held at the Lateran, where more than three hundred bishops assisted, confirmed the peace between the emperor and the priesthood, pronouncing anathemas against whoever should infringe the *truce of God*, the obligation to keep which, was always acknowledged, yet constantly violated. They likewise excommunicated whoever should seize Benevento; a precaution which sufficiently proves, that temporals were not neglected. The prelates, upon this occasion, were likewise zealously animated against the power of the monks: "They have only, said they, to take the cross and the ring from us, and subject us to them, since they possess our churches, lands, castles, tythes, and the oblations both of the living and the dead: the canons and clergy are contemned, since the monks, who, instead of living in sacred repose, according to the rules of St. Benedict, are prompted by insatiable ambition to usurp our rights." In consequence of this, the abbots and monks were prohibited from giving the privilege of penance, visiting the sick, and even chanting public masses. This is a very extraordinary contradiction to the decrees of Urban II. and some other popes: but the power of the monks was not injured; they increased daily in number, credit, and riches, having the court of Rome and the temper of the times in their favour. It is evident from every history, that
from

from them the enormous power of the pontiffs was principally derived, because at that time they had the whole power in their hands.

Henry V. expected to recover his authority, and to be revenged of his enemies : he could not forgive Louis VI., surnamed the Fat, successor of Philip I. king of France, for having received and protected the pope, and in some degree ascribed to him the abuse with which he was treated by the council of Reims. He wanted to humble France, that he might afterwards reduce the princes of Germany, who were become independent ; and joining with his son-in-law Henry I. king of England, who was then at war with Louis about some places in Normandy, he marched at the head of a numerous army : but the French signalised themselves by their zeal upon this occasion ; and though the vassals were not very submissive to the crown, they were eager to arm against a foreign enemy ; so that Louis was supported by an army of two hundred thousand men. On the other hand, while the emperor was advancing towards Champagne, he received the news of a revolt, which made him immediately repass the Rhine without having struck a stroke. It may be asked, Why did not Louis with this great army go and attack Normandy ? The reason was, because, though his vassals were very willing to defend him, yet they did not choose to increase his power. They readily conceived, that a duke of Normandy, who was at the same time king of England, was a formidable vassal for a king of France ; that such a rival-

1124.
Attempt of
Henry V.
against
Louis the
Fat.

The zeal of
the French
defeats his
designs.

Policy of
his vassals.

ship would necessarily subsist between them, as might frequently occasion bloody wars; by which the other vassals might preserve their independence, and they had no desire to break the equilibrium in favour of the lord paramount. Such was the ground-work of feudal policy.

C H A P. VI.

*Schism of Anacletus.—Pontificate of Innocent II.
St. Bernard's universal Influence over the
Minds of the People.*

1125.
Conrad and
Lothaire
chosen em-
perors.

Lothaire
sends an
embassy to
the Pope.

It produces
important
consequen-
ces.

THE emperor Henry V. dying in the year 1125, without issue male, the crown was claimed by his two nephews the dukes of Suabia and Franconia. The votes of the greatest part of the princes were in favour of Conrad, duke of Franconia; but by the intrigues of the archbishop of Mentz, and his influence over the lower rank of nobility, Lothaire, count of Suplenbourg, was chosen and proclaimed, though opposed by a majority of the princes. Conrad went into Italy, and was crowned at Monza, and afterwards at Milan. Honorius II. having succeeded Calixtus, Lothaire, by a formal embassy, sent to inform him of his election; and the popes, who missed no opportunity of turning every thing to their advantage, from that time changed this proof of civility into an indispensable duty.

War

War was very soon kindled in Italy, and Honorius did not fail to excommunicate the competitor of Lothaire; but a greater misfortune, which set all Europe in a flame, was the schism occasioned by the death of the pope in the year 1130. A few of the cardinals met clandestinely, and elected the cardinal Gregory, an old monk who took the name of Innocent II.; but the rest, being a majority of that body, assembled upon the same day, at the usual time, and publicly elected Peter de Leon (who had been a monk of Clugny, the grandson of a baptised Jew, whose family was considerable from its wealth), and gave him the name of Anacletus. Twenty-seven cardinals, the suffragan bishops of Rome, the archpriests and several abbots, wrote to the emperor Lothaire, that the election of Anacletus was the only canonical one, and that the other was made by a few who had been guilty of simony. The chief cardinal of his party wrote to those of Innocent's; *Is this your manner of choosing a pope, in a corner, in the dark, and in secret, without consulting, or even summoning us?* &c. Anacletus was represented by the other faction, as a bad man, who must have been a disgrace to the Holy See. Undoubtedly, there was partiality on both sides.

This dispute was the prelude of a war, and, in all appearance, the strongest would remain in possession of the pontificate. Anacletus secured the interest of the Normans, who were become formidable in Italy, by giving the title of King of Sicily to count Roger II. duke of

1130.
Schism of
the church
between In-
nocent II.
and Anacle-
tus.

The first
was chosen
clandestine-
ly.

Anacletus
gains the
Normans,
and gives the
title of King
of Sicily to
Roger.

La Puglia and Calabria, with the sovereignty of Naples and Capua, upon condition that he did homage, and paid the customary tribute. Honorius had excommunicated this prince, who aggrandized himself without his permission. The behaviour of the popes to the Normans, and of them to the popes, always varied according to contingencies.

But Innocent was strongly supported by St. Bernard.

Innocent was supported by a man capable of making him triumph over all his enemies; I mean the famous St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, a Burgundian monk, of the new order of Cistercians, of an active, austere, and inflexible temper, whose genius, eloquence, virtue, and reputation, had such influence upon the minds of men, that he became the arbitrator in affairs of the greatest consequence, the oracle of the people, and in some degree the ruler of bishops, popes, and kings. This extraordinary person, distinguished by his abilities, enflamed with zeal for whatever he thought concerned the cause of religion, but tinged with the prejudices of the cloister, because all his notions were formed on the maxims to which he had been habituated by his profession, was destined to put all Europe in motion, as his opinions or pious intentions directed; but the respect due to his sanctity ought not to incapacitate us from seeing those defects which he derived from nature, and the age in which he lived.

Bernard gets him acknowledged in France;

The French balanced between the two popes, and Louis the Fat, who inclined to Anacletus, summoned a council to decide the matter: they referred the decision to St. Bernard, who declared

clared in favour of Innocent, upon which, he was immediately acknowledged with universal acclamations. Gerard of Angouleme, who had been legate under Honorius, still hoping to preserve the same title, had represented Anacletus as an usurper, and a man of loose morals, and was doubtless believed by the holy monk; but he very soon contradicted his own evidence; for upon being refused the office of legate, which he solicited from Innocent, he declared in favour of his rival, and occasioned a schism in the kingdom.

Innocent being driven out of Rome, took refuge in Pisa, and from thence hastened to France, where he was received with the greatest respect, and plentifully supplied with money by the profusion of the people. The king of England looking upon his title as very doubtful, was prejudiced against him, but his scruples were dispelled by St. Bernard. *What are you afraid of*, said he to Henry; *expiate your other sins, and I will take that upon my own head.* Henry no longer hesitated, and immediately paid his respects to the pope.

and by the
king of
England;

Lothaire was at Liege, where Innocent arrived, and was received with the greatest respect by the emperor, who led his horse by the bridle, performing the office of a simple equerry; but he took the opportunity of demanding, that the right of investitures should be restored, which greatly embarrassed the pope: however, Bernard, who attended him, openly disputed the rights of the emperor, bore him down by his spirited eloquence, and obliged him to re-

and by the
Emperor
Lothaire,
who fruit-
lessly de-
mands the
restoration
of investi-
tures.

linquish his claim. Being absolute master of the minds of the people, he seemed to dictate to crowned heads.

He inveighs
against Ana-
cletus and
his party.

His letters, which, from the picture they give of the manners and state of affairs at that time, are a very great curiosity, were filled with that zeal which influenced his conduct. *The beast in the Revelations, to which it has been given to blaspheme and make war against the saints, has seized the apostolic chair, like a furious lion ready to devour his prey. You have another beast near you, which hisseth in secret; the first is more fierce, the other more subtle.* This is the language of his letter to Geoffry de Lorrion, afterwards archbishop of Bourdeaux. The two beasts were, the antipope and his legate the bishop of Angouleme. These anecdotes seemed to me to be of consequence, to mark the character of the age with which virtues and vices are equally impressed.

Innocent II.
makes a gift
of Corsica
and Sardinia.

While the king of Sicily suppressed a rebellion in La Puglia, Lothaire introduced Innocent with a small army into Rome, and received from him the imperial crown *, with the usufruct of the territories of the countess Matilda,

* Some years after, a picture was painted at Rome, in which the ceremony of the coronation was represented, with these two wretched lines under the figures :

*Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores,
Post homo fit papæ, sumit quo dante coronam.*

The court of Rome would have it, that the expression *homo papæ* (the pope's man) is a proof, that the empire is a fief of the Holy See ; but it would be easier to prove, if such matters were to be decided by ancient titles, that the territories of the Holy See are a fief of the empire.

upon

upon condition of his doing homage for them to the Holy See. The pope, at the same time, gave Corsica to the Genoese, and Sardinia to the people of Pisa, upon condition that they expelled the Saracens. The popes were always bestowing what did not belong to them. Innocent was very soon obliged to fly from Rome, and take shelter at Pisa, where he held a council, that he might again excommunicate Anacletus and his coadjutors. St. Bernard was the life of this council, and it was to him that the pope owed the submission of the people of Milan, who at that time embraced his cause. Bernard refused the archbishopric of Milan, and some other Sees, and in his monkish habit acted a more conspicuous part than the pope, but from humility despised honours.

This unhappy schism was again to occasion the spilling of much human blood. Anacletus triumphed in Italy by the assistance of the king of Sicily, and the emperor came with an army to restore Innocent; when he seized La Puglia from king Roger, and wanted to invest count Rainulf, but was opposed by the pope, who alledged, that the investiture should be given by him; however, they accommodated the dispute by each of them placing a hand upon the standard of La Puglia, while the ceremony was performed. The conquests of Lothaire were interrupted by a rebellion breaking out in Germany, and king Roger found no difficulty in recovering what he had lost. At last, the death of Anacletus promised the speedy extinction of the schism, and Gregory the new antipope, in

1134.
He is obliged to retire to Pisa, where he holds a council.

War between the Emperor and the king of Sicily, on account of the schism.

1138.
Death of Anacletus.

Bernard prevails with the antipope Gregory to submit.

The pope pretends to give benefices in fief.

Canon on the authority of princes.

Tournaments and cross bows were prohibited.

Innocent taken prisoner by Roger, to whom he gives the investiture of Sicily.

two months after his election, yielding to the persuasions of St. Bernard, was led by him to the feet of Innocent II. The saint congratulated himself, that the triumph of the church was *his crown and his glory*.

In a general council held the following year at the Lateran, Innocent, according to a contemporary author, spoke in the following terms: *You know, that Rome is the capital of the world, that ecclesiastical dignities are received by the permission of the Roman pontiff, to be held as fiefs, and cannot be lawfully possessed without his leave, &c.* This was what the great affair of investitures led to. The twentieth canon declares, *We do not refuse to kings and princes the power of administering justice after consulting the bishops.* Not only tournaments were prohibited, a prudent restriction frequently and uselessly renewed, but likewise the *odious and murdering art* of cross-bow-men and archers, that had been employed against the infidels. It would have been better to have prohibited war among Christians. What would they have done, had the use of fire-arms been known?

The king of Sicily having been excommunicated, because he refused to submit but upon advantageous terms, once more took up arms, and Innocent marched against him in person, but falling into an ambuscade, was taken prisoner. Roger profiting by this advantage, procured the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily anew, as he had done before from Anacletus, and the treaty being concluded, went to kiss the pope's feet, to beg his pardon, and to do

do him homage; upon which the usurper, who had been loaded with anathemas, became a virtuous and respectable prince in the eyes of the court of Rome. St. Bernard, who had very much abused him, wrote to him very affectionately, and sent him a colony of his monks.

There was scarcely any affair of consequence transacted during this period, in which the ecclesiastical power was not seen contending with the civil; or, at least, in which religious prejudices were not the primary cause. What good might not religion, that powerful and universal spring, have done, if, freed from the delusions of ignorance, it had only been employed to impress the sentiments and love of virtue, with divine truths, upon the minds of men? Unhappily, its ministers, who were some of them too ambitious, others but little informed, disturbed kingdoms, and led the people astray, by mistaking its principles.

This was the cause of a storm which burst in France. Louis VII. surnamed the Young, had succeeded his father Louis the Fat, in 1137. He was a good easy-tempered devotee, but passionate, and jealous of his rights and of his honour. The chapter of Bourges having chosen an archbishop who was disagreeable to the court, he commanded them to elect another, excluding only that person; who being in favour with Innocent, very soon presented himself at Rome, where he was consecrated by the pope, who spoke of the king as a young man whom it was necessary to check and instruct; and added, that the exclusion of any individual

Universal
influence of
religion in
civil mat-
ters.

1142.
Quarrel of
Louis the
Young with
the pope.

France laid
under an
interdict.

was destroying the freedom of elections. Louis forbid the archbishop to be received; upon which, the pope and the prelate immediately laid the kingdom under an interdict. An unjust and odious sentence; for every ecclesiastical function immediately ceased, every thing inspired the minds of the people with fear, and led to fanaticism; and nothing was better calculated to make a superstitious people rise in rebellion against their master.

Theobald,
count of
Champagne,
turbulent
and rebel-
lious.

Letters of
St. Bernard
in his fa-
vour.

Theobald, count of Champagne, a turbulent hypocrite, guided by his ambition, united with the monks, and closely connected with Bernard, whom he had deceived by his pretended sanctity, declared in favour of this archbishop, entered into a cabal, and occasioned a civil war. The abbot of Clairvaux was at Rome, and joined in this business, as being the friend of the count, and an adherent of the court of Rome. He wrote to the king in the following terms: *You have so totally destroyed every idea of honour and prudence, that you have lost all sense of order or good principles. Your excesses disgust me. I begin to repent of having been too indulgent to you on account of your youth, and if I have any influence, it shall be employed from henceforth in defence of truth.* Writing to the ministers, Josselin bishop of Soissons, and Suger abbot of St. Dennis, he said: *How dare you to take upon you to guide affairs of this nature? Whatever a young king does amiss, ought to be ascribed to the most able members of his council.* A strong prejudice against the saint is, that these two ministers were statesmen of equal virtue and abilities;

abilities; but even, if they had not been men of such merit, the remonstrance was too keen;—amidst the disorders of faction, zeal too easily runs astray.

But we must likewise observe, that the impetuous temper of Louis the Young furnished just cause of complaint. Having made himself master of Vitri, a town belonging to the count de Champagne, and the inhabitants, who had fled for refuge to a church, continuing to defend themselves, in a fit of passion, he gave orders to set it on fire, and thirteen hundred people perished in the flames. The king being seized with remorse, warmly reproached himself with his cruelty, and yielded to sentiments of penitence, which, as we shall soon see, was the occasion of his going to the holy war.

The king gives orders for the massacre of Vitri.

At the very time that the pontifical authority was haughtily displayed in the dominions of other princes, it was weakened even in the centre of the papacy. Arnold of Brescia, a fanatical monk, had stirred up the people to rebel against the temporal authority of the clergy, who, according to him, had no title either to lands or lordships, and ought to be satisfied with the voluntary offerings which were made to them; he said, that princes ought to strip them of their property for the good of the state. The pride and haughtiness of the ecclesiastics, with the misery and sufferings of the people, gave weight to his violent declamations; but being driven out of Italy, he went to preach in Germany. Nothing is more contagious than a fanaticism which flatters the inclinations

Arnold of Brescia stirs up the people against the clergy.

tions of the multitude. The clergy became odious in their sight, the spirit of liberty or licentiousness revived, and the popes felt the effects.

1143.
The Romans restore the senate, and rebel against the pope.

A violent enmity divided the inhabitants of Rome and Tivoli. Innocent II. having excommunicated the last, laid siege to their town in person, and carried it, but did not suffer it to be dismantled by his soldiers. This gave the Romans an opportunity of revolting; they restored the senate, renewed the war, and Innocent died with vexation. His successor Celestine II. governed only five months. After him, Lucius II. wanting to drive the senators out of the Capitol, was murdered with a shower of stones.

Eugenius III. takes shelter in France.

Eugenius III. formerly a monk of Clairvaux, and disciple of St. Bernard, experienced the insolence of the Romans as well as his predecessors. Arnold of Brescia came to excite their presumption by his discourses, and they compelled the nobles to swear obedience to a patrician whom they elected. The pope, at last, withdrew from Rome, and having wandered for some time to different towns in Italy, in the year 1146, set out for France, the common asylum of the popes when obliged to leave their own dominions. Bernard, who was looked upon as pope rather than Eugenius (he said so himself in one of his letters), had already projected a crusade, and set every thing in motion for its execution.

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CHAP. VII.

Beginning of the Holy War, or the Crusades.

WE must now look back a little, that we may give an account of the origin of those wars, which, from the object that occasioned them, were called *holy*, and were at first inspired by religious motives, to which others less respectable were afterwards added, but, in their consequences, proved equally fatal to the cause of religion and the states of Europe. The first crusade being mentioned in this place, will lead us naturally to the second.

First
crusade.

Gregory VII. laid the grand scheme of arming all the powers of Europe to recover Palestine. In one of his letters, he says, that he had already more than fifty thousand men ready to march under his command; but he was prevented by his disputes with the emperor Henry IV. Beside the religious motive of freeing Jerusalem from the dominion of the Turks, some views of ambition might have induced the court of Rome to engage in this project. It was a means of extending her authority into Asia, of making its princes tributary, and of subduing the Greek church either by force or policy. An opportunity presented, which was seized with avidity, and we shall see what trifling springs could set the whole human race in motion.

Project of
Gregory
VII. for the
deliverance
of Jerusa-
lem.

A hermit

Peter, the hermit, inspires the people with enthusiasm upon this subject.

Urban II. held a council at Placentia for that purpose in the year 1095.

He succeeded better with the council at Clermont.

The crusade is formed there.

A hermit of Picardy, whose name was Peter, a bold enthusiast, at his return from Jerusalem, where he had been on a pilgrimage, represented the oppression of the holy city, and the cruel treatment which the Christians suffered, in such striking colours, that Urban II. thought proper to set both kings and people in motion to recover it. This hermit, of a hideous figure, covered with rags, walking barefooted, speaking as a prophet, and hearkened to as such, inspired the people every where with an enthusiasm similar to his own. The pope held a council at Placentia, in the year 1095, to determine upon the expedition; to which thousands of people immediately flocked. The Italians greatly approved the undertaking; but whether it proceeded from attachment to their country, weakness, or circumspection, they went no farther than bestowing empty praise, and thereby shewed themselves more prudent than other nations.

At a council held the same year at Clermont, in Auvergne, Urban found no difficulty in engaging the French vivacity. The anathemas denounced against king Philip, did not prevent the people from entering into the views, or rather obeying the commands, of the Roman pontiff. He preached up war as a means of wiping away all the offences they had committed; he placed all who took up arms under the protection of the church, and promised, that God would give them victory, and the spoils of the Mussulmen. *It is the will of God*, was echoed from every quarter. The people were
anxious

anxious to receive from the hands of the pope or the bishops, a cross of red stuff, which they sewed upon their clothes; from whence the names of *crusade* and *crusaders* were derived to express this new kind of expedition, and the troops that were employed in it. The red cross procured a dispensation from all penance, but, when once taken, the wearers were obliged to set out under pain of excommunication.

However imprudent the project, the prevailing taste and prejudices of the age occasioned its being adopted without examination. A pilgrimage to Jerusalem had been long in fashion, as an extraordinary act of piety, and an effectual means of salvation. They detested the Saracens, who were followers of the religion of Mahomet. Their enterprises in Europe, and their oppressive tyranny in Asia, whetted religious zeal, which at that time inclined men too much to war; for to be no Christian or Catholic was a sufficient reason to deserve extermination. They imagined that nothing could be more acceptable to God than the deliverance of the holy sepulchre; and though they worshipped Jesus Christ, who was present on the altar, they preferred adorations paid to his footsteps, and the monuments of his mysteries in Palestine. (See *Disc. de Fleury*.)

Besides, all other passions were absorbed in their love of war; they were delighted with the thoughts of adventures, and the brave were attracted by a passion for acquiring glory and gaining wealth. If principalities had been conquered in Italy by a handful of Normans, what was

Motives of
the crusade.

The first
was hatred
against the
Mahomet-
ans.

The second
was a devout
regard for
the holy
places of
Jerusalem.

The third
was a love
of arms.

The fourth,
a hope of
conquests.

The fifth,
important
privileges.

was not to be expected from the valour of an infinite number of warriors fighting under the banners of the cross? What conquests to be looked for in Asia! To mention nothing else, it was a very important advantage for men oppressed with debts, exposed to the prosecutions of creditors, or to the insults of their enemies, to place their persons and property under the powerful protection of the church.

The sixth,
plenary in-
dulgences.

Lastly, thousands of wicked and abandoned debauchées, to whom a long and severe penance had been prescribed by the canons, found the expiation of their offences in a plenary indulgence, which was the more easy, as it changed into a duty what was most agreeable to their inclinations; going to war and making conquests. If they succeeded, their fortune seemed to be secured in this world; if they died, a crown of martyrdom was promised in the next. Devotion and the passions, prejudices, and habits, altogether concurred to produce the same effects. So many causes uniting had almost an insurmountable power, and their concurrence is one of the most curious phenomena to be met with in history.

The seventh, a
crown of
martyrdom
in case of
death.

Principal
leaders of
the crusade.

Hugh, the brother of king Philip; Robert, duke of Normandy; Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine and Brabant; Eustace and Baldwin his two brothers; Raimond count of Toulouse, and Robert count of Flanders, were among the number of Crusaders. Bishops, priests, monks, women, and children, were all enrolled in the holy army. People sold their property to defray the expence of the expedition, without

People sell
their pro-
perty to go
upon this
expedition.

without regarding the price, and the churches and monasteries were made rich by being the purchasers. The duke of Normandy mortgaged his dukedom to his younger brother Henry I. king of England, who had deprived him of that kingdom. The count de Toulouse relinquished his dominions in favour of a bastard of the family. Godfrey sold Bouillon to the chapter of Liege. They never doubted that the riches of Asia would recompense them an hundred-fold.

Cotemporary historians make the number of the first crusaders to exceed six millions; but the best authors reckon only about thirteen hundred thousand, and not one king joined in the enterprize. Notwithstanding the prodigious emigration of subjects, it was an advantage for the sovereigns that their powerful vassals carried into other countries that martial ardour which made them so dangerous at home.

Peter the Hermit, with sandals on his feet, and a thick cord girt round his middle, acting both as prophet and general, and persuaded that God would employ miracles to supply all their wants, was the first that set out, at the head of fourscore thousand men, without either provisions or discipline; the command was shared with him by a poor gentleman, Walter *the needy*, who was as ignorant as Peter. This army of banditti committed dreadful outrages in passing through Hungary and Bulgaria, and were almost exterminated on the way to Constantinople. Godeschald, a German priest, followed next, with such another army.

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U

Their

Above a
million of
crusaders,
but no king.

Army of
Peter the
Hermit ex-
terminated
by the way.

Dreadful
outrages
against the
Jews.

Their zeal was so inveterate against the Jews, that a number of them, both men and women, in the despair to which they were driven by these madmen, murdered their own children: but the Hungarians likewise cut that army in pieces. Hitherto the crusaders have appeared only like wild beasts, which people are eager to destroy. A bad omen of the holy war!

The recep-
tion of the
Hermit at
Constanti-
nople.

Alexis-Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, had applied to the Latins for succours against the Turks, and gave the Hermit, with the wreck of his army, a very welcome reception; but he did not long continue ignorant of their disposition, for the crusaders pillaged and laid waste the country, without even respecting the churches; for which reason he supplied them with shipping and provisions to hasten their departure. The Christians of Asia very soon felt the effects of their outrages, and they were easily destroyed by the Turks. Peter returned to Constantinople to wait the heroes of the crusade, and was supported in his misfortunes by enthusiasm: the crimes of his fanatical followers did not lessen the merit of the expedition in his eyes.

He made an
unsuccessful
attempt in
Asia.

Arrival of
the French
nobility,
and Bohemond, son
of Robert
Guiscard.

The French nobles at last arrived with their troops, and were joined by Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, who hoped to be the founder of some kingdom in Asia, as his father and uncles had been in Europe. Alexis-Comnenus, against whom he had long continued to make war, equally dreaded his valour and ambition. The depredations of the first crusaders, with the power and arrogance of the rest, inspired the

They in-
spire the
emperor

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the emperor with a dread of their intentions. His daughter Anna Comnena says, that a French lord had the impudence to sit down by the emperor upon his throne, and carried his insolence so far as to say, *This Greek is an audacious clown to presume to sit in our presence.* They very soon began to dispute and quarrel, and Adhemar, bishop of Puy, who was legate and general of the crusade, proposed to lay siege to Constantinople; but they were sensible that it would be disgraceful for them to begin the crusade by attacking Christians. Alexis at last got rid of these dangerous guests, by providing them with whatever was necessary for their passage into Asia, after having made them promise to do him homage for whatever conquests they should gain from the Turks. The Greeks extol his prudence, and the Latins charge him with perfidy. The question is, Was his distrust well or ill-founded? We shall see afterwards whether Constantinople was threatened by the crusaders.

Alexis-
Comnenus
with a dread
of them.

He there-
fore gets rid
of them.

The Mahometan empire had been greatly weakened by the divisions which prevailed among the Turks. A sultan, or soudan, reigned at Nice in Bythinia, another in Persia, a third at Antioch, and a fourth at Damascus; so that Asia, as well as Europe, contained a number of petty states, included in greater kingdoms, which were founded by usurpation, and fell a prey to dissensions. More than six hundred thousand combatants, commanded by warlike princes, set out to attack these enemies of Christianity. Such an army might have gained immense con-

The Turks
by their
divisions
might have
been con-
quered.

quests, but a unity among the leaders, prudence, and discipline, which alone can secure victory, were wanting.

Nice and
Edeffa
taken.

Siege of
Antioch.

Misunder-
standing
among the
crusaders.

The troops
animated
by the
marvellous.

Death of
the legate
Adhemar.

However, in the year 1097 Nice was taken, and the army of the sultan Solymán twice defeated. Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, penetrated as far as Mesopotamia, took the city of Edeffa, and founded a principality. They laid siege to Antioch; and Bohemond, the most artful politician of the crusaders, insisted on that place being ceded to him, but was opposed by the count de Toulouse. Their success was retarded by the misunderstanding among the chiefs, and the troops were consumed by famine and diseases. Their zeal began to cool, and numbers quitted the army to return to Europe; but Bohemond at last obtained his request, and after a long siege Antioch surrendered.

The Christians in their turn were besieged there, by an army of two hundred thousand men, and the marvellous was employed to revive their drooping courage. A priest declared that he had been favoured with a revelation of the place where the lance which pierced the side of Jesus Christ was buried. He was followed; the earth was dug, the head of a lance was found, and the people exclaimed, A miracle! a miracle! An engagement was immediately resolved upon; the holy lance, carried by the legate, inspired the troops with heroic valour, and the infidels were defeated.

Soon after this died the legate Adhemar du Puy, a valiant leader, who alone was capable
of

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of restraining the licentiousness of the clergy, which was daily increasing. The generals wrote to the pope, inviting him to come and assume the command. "We have defeated the Turks," and Pagans, said they, do you come and conquer the heretics, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, and Jacobites; you shall have the glory of uniting the whole world under your authority." This shews that the crusaders would sooner or later have turned their arms against the Greeks. Urban II. had not the courage of Gregory VII., and only sent Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, in quality of legate; a man who was exceedingly zealous for the interest of the court of Rome, and above all things to extend its authority over the East.

The pope invited to come and command in person.

The crusaders having made themselves masters of Antioch, advanced towards Jerusalem. According to the generality of historians, their army was reduced to twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, and what seems incredible, the garrison consisted of forty thousand; yet the city was taken by assault at the end of five weeks. The conquerors suffered none to escape the slaughter; yet when they were glutted with blood, they immediately became devout pilgrims, and in religious transports ran barefoot to visit the holy sepulchre. This contrast of barbarity and piety gives a lively picture of the manners of the age, and accounts for the events which were the consequence.

1099.
The taking of Jerusalem.

Notwithstanding every effort of the seditious clergy to get a patriarch chosen, Godfrey was elected king or duke of Jerusalem. The

Godfrey of Bouillon chosen king or duke of Jerusalem,

but yields
almost every
thing to the
legate.

The Venetians engage in the crusade when they expect to profit by it.

Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, profit greatly.

legate being afterwards clothed with the dignity of patriarch, maintained that Godfrey had given the conquest to God, and of course it belonged to the church. That pious, credulous prince yielded almost every thing to him, except only one or two places, and declared that, if he died without posterity, the patriarch should be his successor. An old English historian calls this conquest *a kingdom excessively small, and almost a disgrace to the name*. Such was the fruit of the first crusade.

Their success was greatly exaggerated in Europe, and Hugh, brother of the king of France, collecting new troops, went to meet his fate in the East. The Venetians assisted Bertrand, son of the count of Toulouse, to found the small principality of Tripoli in Syria, of which they demanded a part. Venice had, at first, refused to assist the crusaders with necessaries. "They enriched themselves more than ever," says M. de Voltaire, by their commerce with the Mahometans, and were afraid of being deprived of the privileges which they enjoyed among them. The Genoese, Pisans, and Greeks, fitted out vessels loaded with provisions, which they sold to the crusaders on the coasts of Asia Minor. The wealth of the Genoese increased, and the world was soon surprised to see Genoa erected into a powerful state." In this manner did the Venetians delay, till they found the advantage they could derive by engaging in the crusades. In these commercial towns, interest guided every thing, and they alone profited by that madness with which all

all Europe was agitated. This is the period in which the foundation of a flourishing commerce was laid, which was one day to change the manners and political state of Europe.

Three monastic and military orders, the Hospitallers, the Templars, and Teutonic knights, were instituted at Jerusalem, to protect the pilgrims from the attacks of the Turks. This institution was worthy of an age in which the sacred was so confounded with the profane, that it was thought the virtues of the monk might be united with the qualities of the soldier. The new orders, loaded with wealth and particular privileges, in a short time became greedy, licentious, and insolent warriors, enemies of one another, and by their mutual hatred weakened the cause of Christianity.

Three military and monastic orders instituted at Jerusalem.

What happened before in Europe was likewise seen in Asia: every lord wanted to erect a sovereign power; principalities were subdivided into fiefs; discord prevailed, and the Turks would soon have destroyed them, if they had not likewise been divided among themselves. The new princes having refused to do homage, as they had promised, to the emperor Alexis, it produced another war. The proceedings of the transplanted Christians were neither guided by religion nor policy, and their establishment threatened their total destruction.

The Christians in Asia weakened by discord.

C H A P. VIII.

Second Crusade preached up by St. Bernard.

1146.
The second
crusade pro-
posed in the
assembly of
Vezelai.

St. Bernard
gives the
cross to
Louis the
Young, and
to Eleanora
his queen.

He refuses
the com-
mand of the
army.

THE Turks had already taken Edeffa, and there was great reason to be apprehensive for the fate of Jerusalem, when Eugenius III., fifty years after the beginning of the crusades, received deputies from the East, who came to solicit a second. Louis the Young, who reproached himself for the massacre of Vitri, by the advice of St. Bernard, zealously embraced this method of expiating his offence. At an Assembly held at Vezelai, in Burgundy, the king and the abbot, mounted upon a scaffold, exhorted the people to join in carrying on the holy war against the *worshippers of idols*; for ignorant prejudice had represented the Mussulmen as idolaters, though they were mortal enemies of idolatry. Louis and his queen Eleonora took upon them the cross; and the number of crosses which had been prepared being insufficient for the people that applied, Bernard made some of a part of his robe, and gave leave to every one to make for himself. Another assembly appointed him general of the crusade; but, too artful to accept the employment, he contented himself with preaching up its advantages, and when he had set the whole kingdom in a flame, hastened to display his zeal in Germany.

He

He is represented by historians as running from town to town, and though ignorant of the language of the country, yet making the people follow him, and performing numberless miracles, which were more persuasive than his discourse. The *miracle of miracles*, according to him, was the prevailing with Conrad III., the first emperor of the house of Suabia, who was little inclined to take the cross. Bernard, in a private conversation, insisted upon the advantages of a penance *so light, so short, and so glorious*, without obtaining any other answer, than that it should be deliberated in council, and the following day he should be informed of the resolution. Impatient to carry his point, he preached that same day with so much fervour, that the emperor immediately took the cross. The holy monk every where gained an influence, of which there had been no parallel; but the success did not keep pace with his hopes and wishes.

It is said, that each of the two armies had seventy thousand *men at arms*; these consisted of the nobility, who were heavy armed, and followed by a much more numerous body of light cavalry; a man at arms always had a number of horses in his train. The infantry was not numbered. Such strong armies united, acting in concert, and directed with prudence, might undoubtedly have done great things, but they shamefully perished. The princes seemed to be hurried to destruction by a kind of infatuation.

He prevails
with the
emperor
Conrad III.
to go to the
holy war.

Great
strength of
the two
armies,

The

1147.
Manuel-
Comnenus
accused of
having be-
trayed the
people of the
West.

Was he to
blame in
being afraid
of them?

Conrad and
Louis de-
feated by the
Turks one
after the
other.

The emperor Conrad was the first that set out: he was the brother-in-law of Manuel-Comnenus, at that time reigning in Constantinople; but, however, the Greeks, either from the crusaders committing the same outrages, or dreading in future from what had formerly happened, were equally apprehensive as in the time of Alexis. When Louis the Young arrived, a French bishop proposed, that they should attack Constantinople; and certainly, the Latins had almost as great an aversion from the Greek schismatics as the Mahometans, whom they believed to be idolaters. If Manuel-Comnenus betrayed them, as has been alledged; if he gave treacherous guides, and contributed to their destruction; that prince, who in other respects was reckoned generous and valiant, and is celebrated for his victories, could not be suspected of hating them without some reason.

Conrad, while in Asia Minor, imprudently entangled himself in rocky grounds, where the Sultan of Iconium, who was a better general, cut his army in pieces; upon which he fled to Antioch, made the pilgrimage of Jerusalem, and returned to Europe with only a handful of men. Louis had the same success in his expedition: he was defeated by the Turks, fled to Antioch, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and brought nothing back to France, but the advantage of having visited the holy sepulchre, and the mortification of believing, that he had been dishonoured by his wife who accompanied him.

They

They both returned without having acquired any honour, and almost without a train, and, what was worse, they did not profit by their misfortunes. They had laid siege to Damascus in the year 1148, but were betrayed by the Christians of Palestine, who saved the town. If the Christians detested one another; if they became mutual enemies; if the devotion of the crusaders was accompanied with the commission of every crime, can we be surprised at the inevitable evils which befel them? The abbot Suger, the prudent minister of France, had foreseen the fatal effects of this enterprise, and opposed it. St. Bernard might have foreseen them, as they were connected with the manners of the age, and had been foretold by experience. He would have saved the spilling of much blood, and prevented his being exposed to the severest reproaches: he attempted to make his excuse, by laying the blame upon the sins of the crusaders; but such apologies might have been made before the event.

At the time that France was losing so many of her warriors in a fruitless expedition, the country enjoyed peace under the prudent government of Suger. Pious without enthusiasm, he did not judge from deceitful appearances, but from the real good or hurt that ought to be expected; and though he could not be totally free from prejudices, yet he had none but what yielded to reason. Bernard, whose lively and turbulent zeal acted sometimes upon ill-founded suspicions, as in his contests with Abelard, with Gilbert de la Porrée bishop of Poitiers, and with

1149.
They return
without
having
gained any
honour.

The abbot
Suger judged
better of this
enterprise
than St. Ber-
nard.

Prudent ad-
ministration
of Suger.

the venerable Peter abbot of Clugny, likewise attacked Suger, at a time when the manners of that abbot seemed to him unsuitable to his character. Suger answered him by reforming his monastery of St. Denis, and by setting an example of regularity. Having been the minister of Louis the Fat, and afterwards of Louis the Young; he always conducted national affairs like an able statesman, while the abbot of Clairvaux managed them like a mystical or prejudiced monk. While we admire the virtues of the saint, let us not be afraid to say, that his prejudices were sometimes dangerous out of the cloister.

CHAP. IX.

Henry Plantagenet, King of England, very powerful.—His Quarrels with Thomas Becket.

1152.
Imprudent
divorce of
Louis the
Young from
Eleanora of
Guienne.

AFTER the death of Suger, Louis executed a project which had been obstructed by the prudent counsels of that great minister. Queen Eleanora, heiress of Guienne and Poitou, was suspected of having an unlawful commerce with the prince of Antioch and a young Turk: she could not endure her husband, who, she said, was more a monk than a king; but he hated his wife still more, who, by her gallantries, had destroyed his peace of mind, and therefore divorced her upon the usual pretence of

FOURTH EPOCH.

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of kindred. She very soon was married to Henry Plantagenet, duke of Normandy, who inherited Anjou and Maine from his father, and to whom she brought two considerable provinces, of which the French crown was deprived by this divorce, and the fortune of Henry was completed by the acquisition of England. Let us examine by what means he succeeded.

She marries Henry Plantagenet, who was already powerful.

His mother Matilda, widow of the emperor Henry V., and afterwards married to the count of Anjou, was the only daughter and heiress of Henry I. who died in the year 1135. Stephen, count of Boulogne, grandson by the mother of William the Conqueror, got himself crowned king of England; he at first gained the nobility by dangerous concessions, but he provoked the clergy by attempting to take possession of their strong holds; they therefore declared in favour of Matilda, crowned, and afterwards betrayed her. Young Henry, whom she had already made duke of Normandy, maintained his claim with such power and courage, that Stephen, in the year 1153, was obliged to set aside his own son, and declare him his successor. Stephen died the following year, and the house of Plantagenet taking possession of the throne, formed a power the more considerable, as to extensive territories Henry II. added the greatest abilities. Possessed of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge, Guienne, Perigord, Angoumois, Limousin, and afterwards Bretagne, by the marriage of one of his sons with the heiress of that duchy, he had strength sufficient

Stephen king of England is obliged to declare him his successor.

Henry II. succeeds Stephen.

cient to make the king of France his weak lord paramount tremble.

His wife
govern-
ment.

England already enjoyed the advantages of a good government, the laws were in vigour, and crimes restrained. Those castles in which a croud of petty tyrants had established themselves during the weak government of Stephen, were no longer to be seen, nor those mercenary troops which he had employed to reduce them, and which only served to multiply robberies. Another abuse which Henry II. wanted to reform, was the excessive power of the clergy, the impunity which they secured to themselves by privileges contrary to the civil laws, and the enormous jurisdiction which they arrogated in every business, by connecting it with the canons, and making it a case of conscience. This attempt ruined his peace, tarnished his glory, and brought misfortunes upon him, under which any other prince would have sunk.

He wants to
curb the ex-
cessive power
of the
clergy.

1162.
With this
view he
gives the
see of Can-
terbury to
Thomas
Becket.

He rashly flattered himself with the hope of levelling every obstruction by means of Thomas Becket his chancellor, a clergyman of great abilities and resolution, who had hitherto been a zealous, splendid, voluptuous, warlike, and crafty courtier, possessed of the art of conforming to all the views of his master. The king raised him to the See of Canterbury, the greatest employment in the kingdom, where the privileges of primate and chief of the peers gave him a power which was frequently dangerous, because, at that time, it was excessive. Becket, when he changed his condition, suddenly altered his

Becket
changes his
conduct.

his conduct; he became a rigid bishop, retired from the court, and dedicating his life to penitence and the exercise of good works, acquired the reputation of a saint, and by that means became the object of the people's adoration. During the time he studied at Boulogne, he had imbibed the maxims of Italy with regard to the powers of the church; and his reformation presaged a purpose of maintaining them.

The chief cause of their quarrels sufficiently proves, that the king was not wrong in the grounds of the dispute. Henry wanted to cause a priest who was guilty of a murder to be tried by the ordinary tribunals, and to suffer death; but this was opposed by Becket, who challenged the clerical immunities, and insisted, that none but canonical punishments could be inflicted. This abuse had every where prevailed for a long time; to belong to the church was sufficient to be sheltered from the severity of the laws; and crimes which were the more heinous, as they stained those hands which had been dedicated to the service of religion, were expiated by slight penances.

In an assembly of bishops and lords, which was held at that time in Clarendon, the king caused several articles to be received as being the ancient customs of England; among the rest, "That criminal ecclesiastics should be
 " tried by civil tribunals; that no person who
 " was an immediate vassal of the crown could
 " be excommunicated without the consent of
 " the king; that no person could appeal to the
 " pope, or leave the kingdom without permis-
 " sion."

He quarrels with the king about the immunities of the clergy.

1164.
 Articles of Clarendon, to which he submits as well as the others.

Alexander
III. takes
refuge in
France: he
condemns
these ar-
ticles.

Becket like-
wise con-
demns
them, and
excommu-
nicates
Henry's
ministers.

Louis the
Young

"sion." The primate, led by the general example, likewise promised to observe these articles *without reserve*: but the opinion of pope Alexander III. made him soon change his system, or rather confirmed him in his original sentiments.

That pontiff being driven out of Rome in the year 1159 by Victor the antipope, took shelter in France, according to custom. Louis the Young and Henry II. went to meet him, and having dismounted to receive him, one on each side held the reins of his horse. If the popes insisted, that kings should serve them as equerries, with how much more reason might they repeal laws which they thought hurtful to the interests of the church! Alexander condemned the articles of Clarendon: Becket did penance for having subscribed them, and interdicted himself from the duties of his office, till he received absolution from the pope. Henry, provoked by this conduct, could no longer restrain his resentment, but prosecuted the primate, stripped him of his property, and sentenced him to banishment. Becket retired to France, where he was sure of protection from a bigotted king, who was interested in fomenting troubles in England, and from a haughty pope, whose cause he defended with as much zeal as if it had been his own. There he excommunicated Henry's ministers, and, in general, all who were supporters of those famous articles.

There were almost perpetual quarrels between the two kings. The conclusion of a treaty be-
tween

tween them, furnished an opportunity of negotiating with an intention to accommodate this dispute. Henry said to the king of France: *Let Becket only shew the same submission to me which the most holy of his predecessors had for the least of mine, and I shall be satisfied.* The primate obstinately refused to make the least concession without the clause, *saving the honour of God and the liberties of the church.* All the conferences were fruitless.

fruitlessly
attempts to
accommodate this
dispute.

Some time after, tranquillity was apparently restored, as they agreed that the question should not be again agitated; but the condemnation of the prince did not soften the haughty temper of the prelate. Becket no sooner returned to England, than he excommunicated the archbishop of York, for having, in his absence, consecrated the eldest son of Henry, whom the king had associated with him on the throne. His violent proceedings drew from the king, in a fit of passion, that fatal expression which he had so much reason to repent: *Will none of my subjects revenge me of this ungrateful priest, that distracts my whole kingdom?* He did not foresee the consequences of an expression which was so capable of inspiring the desire of committing a crime, and the effect was speedy and terrible; — four gentlemen assassinated Becket in his church.

1170.
An ineffectual accommodation.

Murder of
the primate.

If Henry had not been so prudent as to appease the pope by submitting to his sentence; if fanaticism had been set in commotion by excommunications, the crown would have been in great danger, especially as Thomas of Can-

Henry prudently prevents the storm which the murder might have occasioned.

His penance
at the tomb
of St.
Thomas of
Canterbury.

terbury was honoured as a martyr, and worker of miracles, which brought numbers of the nobility and people to his tomb. Henry swore, that he was innocent of the murder; promised, that he would not cause the *new* customs, which were contrary to the immunities of the church, to be observed; that he would not hinder appeals to the Holy See, and would only require sufficient securities from people who left the kingdom. To efface every sinister impression, he went in the year 1174, barefoot, to the tomb of the saint, and was beaten with rods by every monk in the abbey. It was much that he could extricate himself out of his difficulties upon these conditions; but in the end, he maintained the famous articles as being the *ancient* customs of the kingdom; he could render the appeals almost impossible by the sureties which he required; and by thus escaping the anger of the pope, dispelled the still more dangerous prejudices of his subjects.

Rebellion of
his children
notwith-
standing his
increase of
power.

In virtue of a bull of Adrian IV. the predecessor of Alexander III., that able and ambitious prince had conquered Ireland, and compelled William king of Scotland to acknowledge himself his vassal: but though he was a kind father, he could not keep his three ungrateful sons, who were always ready to rebel against him, within the bounds of their duty. Louis the Young declared for them in the year 1173, when Henry raised an army of banditti, called *Brabançons*, *Routiers*, or *Cotteraux*, who sold their services to whoever would pay them, and compelled the three princes to submit.

After the death of Louis, being favoured by the policy of Philip-Augustus, the new king of France, they revolted again. Henry II., a prey to vexation, died in the year 1189, after having consented to a humiliating treaty exacted by the king of France, in favour of the rebel Richard, his eldest son and successor.

His death
in 1189.

Europe was again set in motion by a new project of a crusade. We shall see Philip-Augustus, Richard, and the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, hurried into this expedition. The last had been engaged in great disputes in Italy, of which we must give an account.

Project of a
new cru-
sade.

CHAP. X.

Reign of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa.—Third Crusade, in which he dies.—Philip-Augustus. Richard. Henry VI. Emperor.

FREDERIC I., surnamed Barbarossa, a prince of an elevated and intrepid genius, in the year 1152, was chosen to succeed his uncle Conrad III. who intended that he should be emperor, as he had but one son, who was too young to maintain himself in the government. The people of Italy, but more particularly the inhabitants of Milan, aimed at independence, and the name of liberty stirred up an universal spirit of rebellion in the country; but Frederic having arrived in the year 1154, punished the

Frederic
Barbarossa
emperor.

He reduced
Italy to
obedience.

The Romans more
seditions
than the rest.
Their insolence.

rebellious cities, caused himself to be crowned at Pavia and Monza, and then set out for Rome, where the spirit of sedition principally prevailed. The Romans sent a deputation to him, insolently demanding that he would restore the ancient government, deliver them from that of the popes, and give them fifty thousand livres to be crowned emperor; but he spiritedly replied, that as he was their sovereign, it was his business to prescribe laws, and their duty to obey.

Adrian IV.
insists that
Frederic
shall hold
his stirrup.

Pope Adrian IV., the son of a poor English ecclesiastic, went to meet Frederic at his camp, near Sutri, where an extraordinary dispute arose. Some emperors having held the bridles and stirrups of the popes, Adrian alledged, that this ceremony was a duty, and refused the kiss of peace to the prince, because he would not submit to this humiliation. They disputed with great keenness; but at last Frederic consented to do the office of equerry, and the pope performed the ceremony of his coronation at Rome, without consulting the Romans; who immediately collecting in numbers, took up arms, and began a sedition, which was not quelled before a great deal of blood was spilt: every thing foreboded troubles and rebellions in Italy.

He alledged,
that he had
given the
empire as a
fief.

The emperor, by his marriage with Beatrix, heiress of Renaud, count of Burgundy, recovered possession of the kingdom of Arles, from which large portions had been dismembered since the reign of Henry V. This increase of power did not prevent Adrian from issuing orders to him, as being lord paramount, for he said,

said, that he had conferred the empire as a *benefice*. The common meaning of this word was a *fief*, and it is not to be doubted, that the pope applied it in that sense. His legate openly said at Besançon: *Of whom does the emperor hold the empire, if it is not of our lord the pope?* A count palatine drew his sword against the rash legate, but the emperor appeased the tumult. He acted with so much vigour, and was so steadily supported by the states of Germany, that in 1158, Adrian declared, that a *benefice*, according to his idea, meant a *benefit*, and not a *fief*. He promised to efface the picture of the consecration of Lothaire II., which, by the inscription, alledged that he was vassal of the pope (*Post homo fit papæ*).

But is obliged to explain himself in another sense.

We may judge whether the pretensions of Gregory VII. still subsisted, by the manner in which Adrian expressed himself when he gave Ireland, if we may use the term, to Henry II. *It is not to be questioned, according to him, that Ireland and all the islands that have received the faith belong to the Holy See:* and he demanded Peter-pence for this conquest.

Pretensions of the pope upon Ireland and all islands.

However, the system of universal monarchy which had been conceived by the popes, and maintained by the Italian canonists, was not more absurd than that which was invented by the civilians of Boulogne, and which was adopted by Frederic Barbarossa. These doctors, judging of every thing from the code of Justinian, as the canonists did from the forged decretals, not only laid it down as a principle, *that the will of the emperor had the force of a law, but*

On the other hand, the lawyers of Boulogne supposed the emperor sovereign of the world.

likewise gave him the empire of the whole world. Bartolus afterwards taxed the contrary opinion with heresy, in the same manner as the investitures had been. These are two important lessons to teach men to distrust official opinions, especially when there is room to suspect them of interest and partiality. What chimeras against the rights of society have been without eminent defenders? In what situation must we have been at this day, if we had always been debarred from reasoning?

The Roman law begun to be taught.

Let us observe, by the bye, that Justinian's *pandects* had been discovered at Amalfi about the beginning of the twelfth century, and Boulogne became famous for the study of the Roman law.

Revolt of the Lombards. Milan razed and rebuilt.

The emperor of the whole world always found rebels in Lombardy. In the year 1162, having taken and razed Milan, he caused it to be ploughed up and sown with salt. Brescia and Placentia were dismantled; but the more these people, who were jealous of their liberty, were oppressed with taxes and grievances, the more impatient were they to shake off the galling yoke. The people of Milan rebuilt their walls, and, to insult the emperor, built the city of Alexandria * in honour of Alexander III. to whom Frederic opposed antipopes, and who avenged himself by excommunicating him, and deposing him by his bulls. Venice, which was devoted to the holy father, besides spiritual

Alexander III. gives the sovereignty of the Adriatic sea to Venice.

* It was called in derision Alexandria of straw, because a great number of the houses were covered with straw for want of time and materials.

favours,

favours, received from him the sovereignty of the Adriatic sea, for nothing could prevent his giving a sea as well as a kingdom. The annual ceremony of the Doge's wedding the Adriatic was said to be instituted at this period.

Frequent rebellions in Germany favoured the attempts of the Italians. The league of Lombardy in 1168, comprehended Milan, Mantua, Brescia, Bergamo, Novara, Vercelli, Cremona, Asti, Como, Lodi, Bologna, Ferrara, Tortona, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Placentia, and Alexandria. Verona had a particular league. Some towns detached themselves, others joined in league according to contingencies, and Frederic came for the fourth time to reduce them; but being defeated near Como, was obliged to agree to a truce with the Lombards for six years, to abandon the antipope Calixtus III., and to secure the succession of the countess Matilda to the Holy See. The treaty was concluded at Venice in the year 1177, where the emperor kissed the pope's foot, held his stirrup, and received absolution from him.

William I. king of Sicily, according to the custom of the Norman princes, was in alliance with the pope against the sovereign of Germany. He was comprehended in the treaty for a truce of ten years, though he had formerly been at war with Adrian IV. on account of his own dominions, when he obliged that pontiff to give him the investiture of La Puglia and Calabria, and likewise to confirm the famous appointment of the kings of Sicily to be legates of the pope in their own dominions, as granted by Urban II.

League of
Lombardy.

Frederic de-
feated, signs
a truce.

William I.
king of Sici-
ly, ally of
the pope,

obliged him
to confirm
to him the
office of
legate of
Sicily.

What the
court of
Rome ex-
acted from
Frederic I.

Frederic still had disputes with two popes, Lucius III. and Urban III., who not only refused their consent to the consecration of his son, but insisted on his restoring the duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who was justly punished for his rebellion; that he should dispense with the clergy from serving feudal offices; that he should renounce the right of mort-main; and that all impropriations of tythes should be restored to the church, as was ordered by the council of the Lateran in the year 1179. (It was that council which determined, that the votes of two thirds of the cardinals should be sufficient to decide the election of the pope.) The dispute was growing warm, when disagreeable tidings from the East occasioned the third crusade. This diverted the present quarrel, but was a source of other misfortunes.

The quarrel
is suspended.

Disorders
among the
Christians in
Asia,

They were
guilty of
robberies
and perjury.

The Christians who were settled in Asia had run into all kinds of disorders. Having become enemies to one another, from interest, from their savage dispositions, national antipathies, the nature of the feudal government, and unbridled licentiousness, they made themselves execrable in the eyes of the Mussulmen by their cruelties and robberies, to which they were not ashamed to add perjury, from a persuasion, that oaths made to infidels were not binding; and this infamous conduct was too much authorised by the clergy. The military monks themselves were in general become as barbarous and corrupted as the rest. The meritorious zeal for religion, which should have rendered

the crusades sacred, had scarcely produced any thing but crimes and misfortunes.

Mahometism, in the mean time, was supported by great princes, whose virtues have been celebrated in history. Noradin, the sultan of Aleppo, who died in 1173, was a model of humanity, justice, prudence, and courage. Saladine, of Persian origin, who was attached to his service, after having gratified his ambition, a passion which is always committing acts of injustice, surpassed him in generosity. The calif of Egypt being dead, that general seized the throne, caused the calif of Bagdad to be acknowledged as the true pontiff, and thereby putting a stop to a schism of long continuance, established the sovereign authority, which had been greatly disturbed by religious disputes. After the death of Noradin, Saladine rapidly extended his conquests, making himself master of Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia, and very soon threatened Jerusalem, which was in a more wretched situation after the crusades than it had been before.

Guy of Lusignan, king of that city, but whose title was disputed, collected about fifty thousand men, and marched against the Sultan, who had laid siege to Tiberias, but was defeated in the year 1187, without making almost any resistance, when he fell into the hands of the conqueror, who behaved to him with the greatest generosity. Saladine, however, struck off the head of Renald of Chatillon, with a blow of his sabre, for having been frequently guilty of treachery to the Mahometans. Jerusalem having

Noradin and
Saladine,
great princes
among the
Mussulmen.

Saladine
makes him-
self very
formidable.

1187.
He defeats
Guy of Lu-
signan.

He takes
Jerusalem,
and signalises his generosity.

having yielded at discretion, he not only declined to imitate the cruelties committed formerly by the Christians when it was taken by them, but likewise dismissed a great number of the prisoners without ransom; and after having made Guy de Lusignan swear never to take up arms against him, gave him his liberty; but with permission of the bishops, that oath was violated.

Third crusade.

The taking of Jerusalem, and a new crusade for delivering the holy city, were very soon the sole subjects of conversation through all Europe; Gregory VIII. and his successor Clement III. revived the enthusiasm of the people. Henry II. king of England, now advanced in years, and Philip-Augustus, king of France, forgot their quarrels to go to the holy war, and imposed a tax called the *Saladine tythe*, upon all who refused to be enrolled for the crusade, which was the first instance of a general contribution; but the clergy, though it was a religious war, alledged, that they were exempted. Frederic Barbarossa, led by his courage, but without being influenced by prudence, had taken the cross, and was the first who set out, being accompanied by his second son the duke of Suabia.

Saladine
tythe the
first general
contribution.

1190.
Frederic
Barbarossa
and his son
die in Asia.

Isaacus Angelus, the emperor of Constantinople, whose predecessor Andronicus-Comnenus, the murderer of Alexis-Comnenus II., had suffered an ignominious death, looking upon the crusaders as enemies, had formed an alliance with Saladine and the sultan of Iconium. Frederic at first engaged the Greeks, forced the passages,

passages, gained two victories over the Turks, took Iconium, and penetrated into Syria, where he died in consequence of having bathed in the Salif, the ancient Cydnus, famous for the illness of Alexander. Of a hundred and fifty thousand men, of which his army was composed, scarcely eight thousand remained, which were led by his son to Antioch, where Guy de Lusignan, notwithstanding his oath, meditated an enterprise against Saladine. The Christians laid siege to Ptolemais, at present Acre, and at this famous siege the duke of Suabia died.

Philip-Augustus, and Richard *Cœur-de-Lion* king of England, ambitious rivals, but apparently united to carry on the holy war, prudently preferred going by sea, that they might avoid the Greeks. After quarrelling by the way, they arrived at the siege of Acre. The Christian army consisted of about three hundred thousand men; but their success was prevented by divisions, jealousies, and hatred. Among other contests, Guy de Lusignan, and Conrad marquis of Tyre, disputed the kingdom of Jerusalem, as if the conquest had been infallible, and each of them was supported by a party ready to fight against the other. Can we be surprised, then, that Acre held out a siege of three years? Saladine, who had been sometimes sick, sometimes engaged in chastising rebels, came to its relief; but all hope was over, and the town capitulated.

The Christians, instead of uniting for the conquest of Jerusalem, gave themselves up more than ever to dissensions. Philip Augustus, jealous

1191.
Philip-Augustus, and Richard king of England, at the siege of Acre.

Taking of that city after a three years siege.

Dissensions increase among the crusaders.

Philip re-
turns to
France.

jealous of Richard, and tired of the fruitless expedition, leaving only a few troops, embarked with the rest of his army for France; but Richard, who was not so good a politician, continued the war with efforts of valour that were equally astonishing and ineffectual. After having defeated Saladine, he concluded a three years truce with him, that he might return to Europe; and all the fruits of this grand expedition were confined to the reduction of Acre.

Truce of
Richard
with Sala-
dine.

Honour of
Saladine,
notwith-
standing the
treachery of
his enemies.

It must be confessed that the Christians were Barbarians, when compared with this Mussulman, whom they expected to crush. Saladine agreed to pay a sum of money for the ransom of the inhabitants of Acre, and at the term of the first payment required hostages for the safety of the prisoners, offering to give others, on his part, until the payment of the whole sum was completed. Richard taking this mark of distrust for an insult, caused five thousand prisoners to be massacred; and the Sultan with regret avenged himself upon some Christians by way of reprisal. Notwithstanding the frequent proofs of treachery given by his enemies, Saladine faithfully left them in possession of the sea-coast from Tyre to Joppa, as he had promised at signing the truce. By his will he bequeathed a sum of money for charitable uses, which the Christians and Jews were entitled to share equally with the Mahometans. He died in the year 1193, and his empire was torn in pieces by his children and the governors of the different

FOURTH EPOCH.

317

different provinces, as almost always happened after the death of conquerors.

While a legate, who was the pope's minister in England, irritated the people by his despotic behaviour, and Philip Augustus was preparing to take the advantage of his rival's absence, the unfortunate Richard having been shipwrecked, and crossing Germany in the disguise of a pilgrim, was taken prisoner by the Duke of Austria, whom he had offended at the siege of Acre, and who gave him up for a sum of money to the emperor Henry VI. That prince had married the heiress of Sicily; but Tancred, a natural son of the last king, Roger III., had seized that kingdom, and entered into an alliance with Richard, who of course was an enemy to the emperor. Henry, in concert with the king of France, was not ashamed to keep him fifteen months in prison, to accuse him before the diet of the empire of an intended assassination, and to exact a hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver for his ransom. The hero of the crusade was treated as a freebooter!

Philip had already instigated John, brother of the English king, to rebel, and given him the investiture of the French provinces, on condition of receiving a considerable part of Normandy. Richard was no sooner set at liberty than he yielded to the transports of rage and revenge. The two kings continued at war for several years; but it consisted only of trivial engagements, sieges, smart and bloody actions, which produced no important consequences. The people being exhausted, and the finances

swallowed

1193.
King Richard at his return made prisoner in Germany.

Basely treated by the emperor Henry VI.

Philip Augustus prevails with John, the brother of Richard, to rebel.

War between the two kings.

swallowed up by the crusades, how could great enterprises be expected? They fought, then entered into treaties, and very soon took up arms again. Richard being wounded with an arrow at the siege of a castle in the Limousine, where he expected to find a considerable booty, died in the year 1199. His valour proceeded from an impetuous temper which he never could moderate.

1194.
Henry VI.
cruelly seizes
Sicily and
La Puglia.

Henry IV., who treated him so basely, employed his ransom to conquer Sicily. The marriage of that emperor with the princess Constance, the only lawful heiress of the Norman princes, gave him a title which he could not realise but by force of arms. After the death of Tancred, to whom the pope and the people had confirmed the succession, he went into Italy at the head of a numerous army; reduced La Puglia and Sicily; and, as if acts of barbarity had been calculated to strengthen a power which they render odious, caused the body of Tancred to be dug up, the eyes of his young son, William the Third, to be put out, and put to death or persecuted their partisans.

These revolutions
prove the
advantage of
the Salic
law.

It was by this means that the family of Suabia got possession of those dominions, which had been gained from the Greeks and Saracens by some gentlemen of Normandy. " Thus, " says M. de Voltaire, twenty provinces have " been under the dominion of sovereigns whom " nature had placed at three hundred leagues " distance; a subject of perpetual discord, and " a proof of the wisdom of the Salic law, which " is still more beneficial to a small state than " to

“ to a great kingdom.” Ought he not to have added, if a small state had power to support itself against the claims of powerful princes who are interested in the dispute? Do they regard the welfare of the people?

It is said that the emperor was punished for his cruelties by his own wife, whose rights he had a little before secured, and that she revenged her countrymen by giving him poison. He had proposed to the Germans to unite Sicily to the imperial territories, to make all the fiefs hereditary, and to give up the right of mortmain, upon condition that the empire should be declared *in the fullest manner successive and hereditary* in his family. More than fifty princes and states who gave their votes at the election of the emperor readily concurred; but some opposed it, and the pope retracted his consent, which he had in appearance granted, because, as a cotemporary author alleges, he was afraid of *prejudicing the right of the Holy See to confirm the election of the emperors.*

This was the period in which the sovereign pontiffs carried their attempts against crowned heads to the greatest excess. Political history will now be more closely connected than ever with the court of Rome. The pontificate of Innocent III. and the reign of Frederic II. make an important period, in which a number of facts are collected that deserve a particular narration: but let us first take a cursory view of those nations which deserve our attention, and examine whatever is remarkable in their situation before the thirteenth century.

1197.
Henry VI.
poisoned by
his wife.

His attempt
to make the
empire he-
reditary.

The court
of Rome
becomes
more pow-
erful than
ever.

C H A P. IX.

Germany and the North.—Italy.—Spain.

I.

GERMANY AND THE NORTH.

Decline of
the royal
authority in
Germany.

Disputes
with Rome
contributed
greatly to it,
as well as
the Nor-
mans and
the clergy.

UNDER the emperors of the House of Franconia, the royal authority was almost annihilated in Germany : it had declined greatly under the House of Saxony from the time that feudal government had taken deep root ; that the Othos had made the clergy too rich to continue dependent ; and the states had enjoyed the privilege of making war or peace, forming laws, or deciding disputes at their diets ; in a word, from the time that they had separately exercised the rights of sovereignty : but the disputes of Henry IV. and Henry V. with the popes completed the confusion. On the one hand, the Normans of Italy, whom the Emperors at first protected, with a design of employing them against the Arabs, being united with the popes from their mutual interest, became formidable enemies ; on the other, the German princes and prelates took advantage of contingencies to increase their power ; they extorted new concessions in return for their services, aggrandizing and strengthening themselves by new rebellions. It was expected that, by raising
the

the clergy to considerable power, a barrier would be opposed to the encroachments of the nobility; but it ought to have been foreseen, that they would shake off the yoke as well as the rest. Fiefs being hereditary in families, the prelates might naturally ask, Wherefore should the nomination to benefices be left in the power of the sovereign? Why depend upon his choice? Undoubtedly this idea occasioned the affair of investitures, which entirely destroyed both the right of naming to the great benefices, and confirming the election of the popes.

In proportion as the rights of the crown were diminished, those of the states were increased. A cotemporary of Henry IV. expressly says, that all public business ought to be managed by the council and authority of the dukes. The consent of the states became necessary for the conferring a duchy, for the creation of a prince, for disposing of the royal domain, and for granting a pardon to whoever had been condemned by the states. The regal jurisdiction was weakened in proportion. The ecclesiastical princes had the power of high and low justice in their dominions, and the secular princes did not suffer any tribunal in theirs, but that of the emperor in person: in one word, the states engrossed to themselves the entire government. The power of deposing the emperor, which they arrogated to themselves at the diets, serves to prove the weakness of the sovereignty. Is it surprising, that the love of the ancient Germans for independence should subsist in Germany more than elsewhere?

Power acquired by the German states.

The states engrossed the whole government.

A part of France still belonged to the empire.

The authority of the prince recovers a little under the family of Suabia.

Means employed by Frederic. 1st, the Roman law.

2d, creating a greater number of princes and free towns.

At the time the family of Suabia ascended the throne, a part of France was comprehended in the German empire, which was bounded on that side by the Rhone, the Saone, the Maese, and the Scheld. If the emperor had no great authority in the center of his dominions, what could he have on the borders? What could he do at such a distance?

A very evident change was made by the House of Suabia. From the reign of Conrad III. the Roman jurisprudence gained credit, though every thing continued to be decided by the German laws. Frederic Barbarossa, as we before observed, was sensible how advantageous it might be to the prince. The civilians of Bologna having adjudged the empire of the world to him, in virtue of the principles of Justinian, undoubtedly animated him with a desire of assuming, at least, the empire over his own subjects. He attempted to introduce into Germany those laws which were so favourable to the prince, and added the Lombard laws, which made the vassals dependent on the sovereign. He punished those of whom he had reason to complain, by divesting them of their possessions: he dismembered the states of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, a faithless and rebellious vassal; increased the number of princes and of free towns, and thus added to his own power by dividing the states of Germany. It must be confessed, that he acknowledged the emperor *was only the minister of government, and that the authority lies in the council of the princes*: but he so well knew how

to govern the diets, that his will served for a law, though he did not seem to command. Henry VI. followed his steps, and had sufficient steadiness to prohibit appeals to the court of Rome. After Frederic II., the son of Henry, who was persecuted by that court, every thing sunk back into anarchy.

The emperors bestowed the title of King, and by this means the duchies of Poland and Bohemia were erected into tributary kingdoms. Hungary had its independent kings, and the ferocious valour of the ancient Huns still existed there. Russia was yet in a state of barbarism, and the kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark scarcely deserve more attention. These nations, from whence so many conquerors overspread the southern countries of Europe, scarcely afford some obscure materials for general history. The first code of the Swedes was given them by a king Eric. Waldemar I., king of Denmark, founded the city of Dantzic. Christianity, which had been preached up a long time in the North, was very late before it took root among them, and they were kept in barbarism by continuing in ignorance.

Poland and Bohemia become tributary kingdoms.

The northern kingdoms sunk in barbarism.

II.

I T A L Y.

IN Italy, more than in any country, a chaos of misery and confusion was occasioned by petty factions, petty states, violence and anarchy; but Genoa and Venice raised themselves

Genoa and Venice become powerful from commerce,

especially
Venice, that
had gained
some con-
quests.

Lucca, Pisa,
Florence.

by commerce. The first of them took Corsica from the Arabs, and for a time paid a tribute to the pope for that conquest; but Venice, though not so ancient, yet more powerful, had freed herself from all vassalage; Istria, with the coasts of Dalmatia and Ragusa, were under her dominion; she had gained victories over the Greeks and Hungarians, and supported Adrian IV. against the emperor Frederic Barbarossa. These two commercial republics, instead of keeping within the bounds of prudent emulation, unhappily entered into a war with each other from motives of jealousy. Lucca, Pisa, and Florence, likewise acquiring a taste for industry, were on the eve of gaining their freedom, and the arts revived in Italy at a time when the profession of arms was the only one that was respected in the rest of Europe.

III.

S P A I N.

Spain still
dismembered.

The Cid, in
the time of
Alphonso
VI. king of
Castile.

WE left Spain towards the end of the eleventh century torn in pieces by the Moors and Christians, and both of them a prey to civil wars; the last of the two gradually founding petty kingdoms, but in want of a single head to erect them into a powerful state. While that country continued to be divided, its history affords only a few detached facts worthy of our attention.

In the time of Alphonso VI. king of Leon and Castile, the Cid, a famous general, signa-
lised

lised himself by some actions, to which a passion for the marvellous has added a great many fables. Sancho king of Castile having been assassinated, his brother Alphonso was suspected of the guilt, and purged himself by oath, with his hands between those of that hero. The Cid caused him to repeat the oath three times, and thereby lost his good graces. He was restored to favour, and sent to besiege Toledo; an expedition to which foreign warriors were attracted by the same religious zeal that carried them to the crusades. The Moors lost that famous city in the year 1085, and Alphonso having made it his capital, permitted the free exercise of the Mahometan religion, but could not repeople it, nor maintain it in its ancient splendour. It contained about three hundred thousand inhabitants in the time of the Saracens, but is now become almost a desert. The Cid likewise made a conquest of Valencia in the year 1094.

He takes
Toledo from
the Moors
in 1085.

Bernard, a monk of Clugny, became archbishop of Toledo, and had immense property bestowed upon him by the conqueror, among which were reckoned ten cities or castles; but this was not the way to make a state flourish. Urban II., who had been formerly of the same order with Bernard, bestowed upon him the title of Primate of Spain; a title contended for by other metropolitans. We have observed, in another place, how much the popes had at heart the extension of their temporal authority over this part of Europe.

Archbi-
shopric of
Toledo.

Alphonso
wants to
establish the
Romish ser-
vice.

Proofs by
duel and fire
for that
purpose.

Alphonso
improperly
styled the
Great.

Frenchmen
settled in
Spain.

Alphonso,
the warlike
king of Ar-
ragon, takes
Saragossa in
1118.

Alphonso was very solicitous to establish the Romish service, instead of the ancient Gothic or Mosarabic liturgy. The matter became so serious, that a proof by duel was ordered to decide between the two liturgies, in which the Roman champion was defeated; but that did not prevent Alphonso from persisting in his design, and bringing them to a trial by fire. The fire probably respected neither the one nor the other: however, the foreign ritual prevailed two years after, from its being zealously supported by the queen; but some churches still retained the Mosarabic. The Spaniards had good sense, magnanimity, probity, and courage, but prejudices had such hold on them, as to obscure and bury their virtue and abilities.

This Alphonso VI. who betrayed and stripped his brother, who dethroned the son of his protector, and persecuted his benefactor the Cid, was improperly honoured with the appellation of Great. In this manner success stained with crimes has often been mistaken for greatness. Alphonso died in the year 1109. After his death, his son-in-law count Henry, the son of a duke of Burgundy, took possession of a principality in Portugal, which had been newly gained from the Moors. Numbers of French came to settle in Spain after the conquest of Toledo, from their having obtained considerable privileges, of which there are still some vestiges remaining.

Saragossa fell into the hands of the Christians, being taken by Alphonso the *Warlike*, king of Arragon and Navarre, in the year 1118, who made

made it his capital, as Toledo had been made that of the kingdom of Castile. That prince was incessantly at war, both with Christians and Mussulmen. The last gained a complete victory over him in the year 1134, which cost the lives of two bishops and an infinite number of gentlemen. He died of vexation about eight days after, leaving his dominions, by an absurd will, to the order of Templars. The will was disregarded as it deserved, but the choice of a successor occasioned a division: the people of Arragon elected the brother of the last king, a monk who was incapable of governing, while those of Navarre chose another prince. This division exposed both kingdoms to fall a prey to the Moors. Alphonso VIII., king of Castile, saved them by sending immediate succours; but being more anxious for his interest than his honour, he obliged the people of Arragon to yield Saragossa to him, and the king of Navarre to do him homage: he was so elated with success, that he affected the title of Emperor of Spain.

In the year 1141 the Templars claimed the crown of Arragon, in right of the will made in their favour by Alphonso the Warlike; but by an agreement which was confirmed by the pope and the patriarch of Jerusalem, some lands and other property were yielded to them in Arragon, where they settled. If they had been in a situation to have made that absurd will valid, they undoubtedly would have reigned in it. It is probable that the military order of Alcantara was created upon their model in the year 1158,

He be-
queaths his
dominions
to the
Templars.

Division
between the
people of
Arragon and
Navarre,

of which the
king of Cas-
tile takes
advantage.

Agreement
with the
Templars in
regard to the
crown of
Arragon.

Military
orders of
Spain.

to which Alphonso VIII., king of Leon and Castile, gave in fief whatever the knights could conquer from the Moors. The military order of Calatrava, which was subjected to the rules of the Cistercians, was instituted two years after; and that of St. James in 1161. These institutions sprung from one another.

Kingdom of
Portugal in
1139.

Pope Alex-
ander III.
renders it
tributary to
the Holy
See.

Alphonso-Henriquez, count of Portugal, received the title of King from his soldiers, after a battle which he gained over the Moors in the year 1139, from whom he afterwards took Lisbon. Pope Alexander III. believing that there could not be a king of Portugal without his consent, and seizing the opportunity of rendering a kingdom tributary to the church, sent him a crown in the year 1179, and put him under the protection of the Holy See, upon condition of his paying an annual tribute of two merks of gold. A considerable time before this, a legate had prevailed with Alphonso to pay four ounces of gold yearly. The politics of the court of Rome were always awake, and its system pursued, while the princes were without any. Strange! that after Gregory VII. they could not foresee what was to happen.

Two marriages of Alphonso IX. king of Leon dissolved by the pope.

Alphonso IX., a king of Leon, having married his cousin German, the daughter of this new king of Portugal, a legate of Celestine III. came to dissolve the marriage, to excommunicate the bishops who had given their approbation, and to lay both kingdoms under an interdict. Popular superstition was enflamed, and natural calamities seemed to be proofs of divine wrath; the husband and wife were obliged to separate,

separate, though they had several children. A short time after, the same king of Leon, who was accused of keeping a Jewess, married Berengaria of Castile, likewise a relation; upon which Innocent III. published a sentence of excommunication, and laid him under an interdict. The king resisted for some time, but at last parted from his new wife, after the pope had declared their children legitimate.

Some writers say that marriage, being obstructed on account of kindred, was looked upon by the Spanish courts as a matter purely civil, and thought that it might be dispensed with by princes, especially between persons of the royal family. There is no question that it was an ancient privilege of the emperors from the time of Constantine; it is evident that a king of Spain, in particular, could scarce marry any but a relation, unless he sought a wife in another country: it is more than probable that a number of these marriages had never been objected to; but since the popes had turned their eyes towards Spain, instances of arbitrary power were to be expected on such an important subject.

The court of Rome knew how to turn every thing to its advantage, and princes seemed imprudently to bend their necks to the yoke. Peter III., king of Arragon, having married the heiress of the countship of the city of Montpellier, went in the year 1204 to be crowned by Innocent III. at Rome, and obliged his crown to pay an annual quit-rent to the Holy See. The states of Arragon protested against an

However, the courts of Spain looked upon the obstruction of marriage from kindred as a matter purely civil.

Peter II. king of Arragon went to be crowned at Rome.

Innocent III. set on foot a claim upon this crown.

an obligation which would infallibly be mistaken for a tribute, and insisted that the king could not submit to it without their consent. No prince had ever been crowned at Rome without endangering the rights of sovereignty. The pope thought that the crowning of kings depended upon him; at least he acted as if it was not to be doubted; for he gave leave that the kings of Arragon might be crowned at Saragossa. What did such a permission signify?

There were
four Christian
kingdoms in
Spain.

This is all that I find remarkable in the history of Spain before the thirteenth century. It is hitherto detached from the general history of Europe; we meet with nothing but divisions. The Moors lost an extensive territory, but the possessions of the Christians were divided into four kingdoms, Leon and Castile, Navarre, Arragon, and Portugal; and these petty states, subject to frequent revolutions, often at war with one another, formed a confused mixture of interests and events, in which neither virtues nor vices could be eminently distinguished. To make particular narrations interesting, politics must have a conspicuous theatre in which to act; the powers of the human mind must be displayed in their full vigour, or its errors and follies produce some extraordinary phenomenon.

C H A P. XII.

General Observations.

SOME establishments, extremely useful both to sovereigns and people, had been formed in the course of a century; to the first, by weakening the vassals, who undervalued the royal authority; to the second, by the dawning of liberty, which softened the evils of oppression. I speak of *corporations* and municipal government. These corporations were associations of citizens for their mutual defence, and had the privilege of electing a mayor and sheriffs, of governing themselves and taking up arms, upon condition of furnishing a number of men to the sovereign in case of war, and paying him some quit-rents. These valuable privileges were purchased with money, and the crusades, by obliging people to seek pecuniary resources, helped to establish them. Most of the cities by degrees became petty republics, disorderly at first, but in which the nobles could no longer exercise their tyranny; so that their sovereigns must render their dominion respectable in time, or industry become the consequence of their liberty.

Establishment of corporations and municipal government.

The contending interests of the nobles and citizens, but in a more particular manner those of the clergy, occasioned great disturbances at first. In the time of Louis the Fat, Gualderic, bishop

Keenly opposed by the clergy.

bishop of Laon, after having sold his consent to the corporation of that town, openly attacked them, and fell the victim of a sedition which his own outrage had occasioned. The archbishop of Reims next inveighed against corporations, alledging that they afforded the *serfs* a pretence for withdrawing their obedience from their lords: he quoted some passages of the gospel upon the subject, without reflecting that the *serfs* recovered the rights of nature, and purchased a liberty which they had not lost but from the scourge of barbarism. The clergy having a great number of *serfs*, were the more alarmed by the new establishment, as at that time they were little attentive to the interest of the public.

The emperors of the house of Franconia increased the number of free cities.

Commerce flourished at that time in Germany.

In Germany, the emperors of the House of Franconia, always exposed to the rebellions of their powerful vassals, increased the number of free cities from political motives, to strengthen the party of the burghers. Henry V. granted the privileges of citizens to tradesmen and *serfs* who inhabited several towns, which occasioned the distinction of tribes into *nobles*, *free burghers*, and *mechanic burghers*. Arts and manufactures, and even commerce, had hitherto been looked upon as disgraceful. “ It was only
 “ among the Slavonians of Mecklenburg and
 “ Pomerania, that trade and manufactures were
 “ respected; they carried on a great commerce
 “ in the ports of Sleswic, Rypen, and Julin,
 “ and sailed even into Russia. When Henry V.
 “ declared merchants and tradesmen free, there
 “ was an universal change; the rivers of Ger-
 “ many

“ many were covered with vessels; an abundance, hitherto unknown, passed from the cities into the country; and the people who were engaged in commerce, acquired a power, in less than a hundred and fifty years, which oftener than once made the kings of Denmark and Sweden tremble.” (*Abregé de l’Hist. d’Allem.*) These are the fruits of liberty; even at its birth it opens the road to happiness.

In most countries the same causes produce the same effects. Slavery depresses the mind, fetters the genius, and deprives industry of every support by stifling emulation. When liberty steps forth, new sentiments inspire new ideas, which give full play to courage and all the faculties of the soul. But what numberless obstacles are every where presented to mar the happiness of society, and what a length of time is necessary to overcome them! Their manners were still under the yoke of barbarism, and infinite mischiefs were perpetually flowing from ignorance and superstition. Religion was ever in their mouths; but so false were their ideas of it, that the most enormous abuses were committed under cover of that respectable name.

It is very extraordinary, that the zeal of some people makes them affect to conceal those abuses of which there are so many monuments preserved in history, as if it were not more for the honour of religion, to shew mankind the abyss into which they may be hurried by superstitious prejudices. It inspires peace, charity, disinterestedness, a love of the public weal, sub-

mission

Abilities
and courage
animated
by liberty.

But every
thing was
hurt by ig-
norance and
superstition.

Contrast be-
tween reli-
gion and
superstition.

Effects of
the last.
First, Abuse
of the sacred
functions.

Second,
Disturban-
ces in states.

Third,
Marriages
and wills
subjected to
the jurisdic-
tion of the
clergy.

Fourth,
Clerical
privileges.

mission to the laws and to men in authority, all the virtues which are essential to the existence of society, and which become sacred by the faithful discharging of duties. But, on the other hand, behold the effects of superstition. The sacred duties of the clergy became an odious despotism. The pontiffs were not satisfied with the possession of principalities, but desirous to be the sovereigns of the world, and to reduce all crowned heads under their dominion, and by means of bulls and excommunications, almost realised the odious chimera. The power of binding and loosing sinners in a tribunal erected for the purpose of salvation, tied up those hands that ought to have held the sword and helm of kingdoms; and freed subjects from their oaths who ought to have executed their orders. The clergy, who ought to be subject to the laws as well as the body of the people, confined legislation to the interest or prejudices of their own body: because every thing might be made a matter of conscience, they thought they had a right to judge in all cases; by which means marriage, the most important object of civil law, even that of kings as well as subjects, absolutely depended upon their judgment. Thus the most essential contracts were not binding without the seal of their authority: testaments were null, if they did not contain legacies to the church; and this devotion seemed such an indispensable duty, that to die without a will, was a crime sufficient to deprive the deceased of the rights of sepulture. Thus the clerical privilege exempted from all contributions and public

public burdens, and protected from the hands of justice, a number of abandoned wretches, who deserved to be punished with the greater severity, as their abuse of the sacred profession made their guilt the more atrocious. This is the picture which that period presents to our view.

Do not the crusades alone sufficiently display the dreadful effects of superstition on the church, society in general, kings, nobles, and private citizens? A plenary indulgence secured the remission of sins to all who enrolled themselves in the armies of the popes. Europe was immediately set in a flame, enthusiasm seized the minds of the people, and they ran instantly to take the cross. Princes abandoned their kingdoms, the rich their possessions, fathers their families, and priests their flocks. Every one eagerly hastened to share in these expeditions, even women and children: a distaff was sent as an insult, to those who hesitated from motives of fear or reflexion. *Cities and castles are become deserts*, said St. Bernard in his letter to pope Eugenius; *we every where see widows whose husbands are alive.*

The effects of superstition most striking in the crusades.

Is it not naturally to be expected, that the crusaders, filled with religious fervor, would, if they were not conquerors, at least prove pilgrims and exemplary penitents? However, their route was marked with murder and robbery; the torrent of their passions never abated, and they were glutted with human blood at the very time they gave vent to their devotion in transports at the holy sepulchre. Had the crusades been

It was the fault of the crusaders they did not succeed.

been properly conducted, Asia might have been subjected to the Christians; but they only served to ruin and depopulate Europe, to cause millions of men to perish, to make the popes more despotic, to extinguish the small remains of discipline and penance in the church, because superstition was the principal spring, and virtue and prudence equally excluded from their councils.

Superstition
produces
fanaticism.

Superstition naturally leads to fanaticism; it is exceedingly combustible, and wants but a single spark to set it in a flame. During this period, France furnishes us with a number of extraordinary instances. Sometimes convulsionaries, who ascribed to the saints the power of agitating them with frantic motions; sometimes madmen, who believed themselves prophets, and, drawing the people after them, were worshipped almost like God himself; sometimes zealous reformers, who, under the pretence of censuring abuses, attacked the ecclesiastical authority, broached heresies and rebellions, and gave rise to sects who were enemies of the clergy, and whose progress made them the scourge of the Christian world.

The doctrine of
Arnold of
Brescia
could not
fail to be
contagious.

From the ashes of Arnold of Brescia, who was burnt in the year 1155, by order of pope Adrian IV. issued numerous swarms of fanatics, that very soon gathered life under the sword of persecution. Unhappily the vices and disorderly lives of the clergy furnished too much matter for invectives. The faith is always in danger, when its depositaries neither support it by precept nor example. That hatred and contempt

contempt which they bring upon themselves, cannot fail to reach to the truths which they teach, and which give them a dominion over the minds of men. An insolent curiosity endeavours to undervalue their instructions, on purpose to degrade their profession, which was the source of new heresies.

The new monastic orders of Cistercians, Carthusians, and those of Vallombrosa, Premontré, Fontevraud, &c. revived that extraordinary fervour which was no longer to be met with in the opulent order of Clugny: of course they acquired lands with credit, and in their turns grew remiss as well as the others. Certainly St. Bernard did not foresee this, when he so bitterly censured the lives of the monks of Clugny: but by procuring an exemption from all tythes for his own order from pope Innocent II., he seems himself to have followed that inclination, which is but too natural, and with which the monks have been reproached, of soliciting privileges which distinguish and enrich their order. Was Peter the Venerable, abbot of Clugny, wrong in complaining of a concession which was made to the prejudice of his monastery? "Who ever heard, said he, that
 " the pope by his single will has ever deprived,
 " not only a church, but even a silly woman
 " of her rights, without taking cognisance of
 " the cause; or that the property of one has been
 " given to another without the consent of the
 " proprietors?" Notwithstanding these complaints, the privileges of the Cistercians were maintained, as the ancient exemptions of

New monastic orders.

St. Bernard too much prejudiced in favour of his own, in attacking those of Clugny.

Adventures
of Peter
Igneus at
Florence.

Clugny had been, notwithstanding those of the bishops. One abuse seems to authorise another.

There are few anecdotes in the history of the new monks more extraordinary than that of Peter Igneus, which happened at Florence in the year 1067. The monks of Vallombrosa, and John Gualbert their founder, suspecting the bishop of Florence of simony, were persuaded, from their zeal, that it was a duty to defame him; they loudly declared, that he was a heretic, and that they could not receive the sacraments from him. Deaf to the remonstrances of prudent men, and even to those of the cardinal Peter Damien, they stirred up a sedition of the people, but more particularly of the women of Florence against their prelate, and insisted upon the ordeal by fire. Peter Aldobrandin, a monk of that congregation, submitted to it in the presence of the whole city. Two piles of ten feet long were erected very near to each other; and when reduced almost to cinders, it is said, he passed between them barefoot, and at a slow pace, without being in the least burnt, from which he obtained the surname of *Igneus*. The miracle may be the more suspected, as pope Alexander II. commanded the monks to be silent about it, but they disobeyed; however, the pope deposed the bishop whom he would fruitlessly have supported. Aldobrandin was afterwards promoted to the rank of Cardinal.

Quarrels
among the
monks.

Quarrels increased with the new institutions: the regular canons contended with the monks for superiority in point of perfection; the white and

and the grey friars wanted to carry it over the black; the black, proud of their antiquity, were provoked at the arrogance of the newcomers; sarcasms and invectives were not spared. Rivalship was still more enflamed, as we shall soon see, when the mendicant friars attracted universal attention, eclipsed all the other orders, and became the sole directors of consciences. Every thing sooner or later shews a tincture of human weakness. What should seem very extraordinary, is, not the orders of monks degenerating as they became more powerful, but that in multiplying beyond measure, they never once reflected, that they were to undergo the fate of all human institutions; and that those who were no longer useful, became hurtful from that very circumstance.

I shall not lose time in giving proofs of the ignorance of those ages, when all was miracle or prophecy. The authenticity of a suspected relic was proved by bulls; councils decided upon the authority of forged acts with regard to the antiquity of a saint, or the place where his body was deposited. A bold impostor, or a mad enthusiast, needed only to open his mouth to persuade the multitude whatever he pleased. Till the time that the clergy acquired learning, and informed the minds of the people, we shall see fatal extravagances perpetuated under the mask of religion. The *feast of fools*, the *feast of asses*, are a disgrace to religion; but, however, they did not disturb society.

The works of Aristotle badly translated, and wretchedly commented on by the Arabians, still

Follies
which pro-
duce igno-
rance and
superstition.

The peri-
patetic phi-
losophy,

a source of
scholastic
disputes,

worse understood by the Christians in the West, far from spreading a taste for philosophy suited to dispel errors, proved the source of all the scholastic disputes, which were as hurtful to society as ignorance. This rage for disputing, which began before the time of Gregory VII. made astonishing progress in proportion as the minds of men waked from their lethargy. The *universals*, the *distinctions*, the ridiculous futilities of the schools, became important objects, about which they quarrelled with rage and animosity.

They extended to
religious
doctrines.

Abelard
persecuted.

Unfortunately they handled the doctrines of religion as they did metaphysics; matters of faith already so obscure in themselves, were involved in a jargon of words without ideas, and they thought they explained them by rendering them more inexplicable. It was this that ruined Abelard, a man of genius, learned, considering the age in which he lived, and virtuous after his fall with Eloisa, but a rash theologian, and bigotted to his systems. His explanations of the Trinity raised some enemies against him, who were more to be dreaded from their power than their knowledge, and he was condemned by the council of Soissons without a hearing. St. Bernard employed all his zeal against him, and from that time the theologian experienced nothing but continual disturbance and mortifications. If we may believe his account of the matter, some person accused him, before the council of Soissons, of teaching that the Father alone is all powerful; upon which Conon the legate, with an air of surprise, said;

A child

Ignorance
of his ac-
cusers,

A child could not be capable of such a mistake, since the elements of the faith tell us, that there are three Almighty. Upon which, one of the professors quoted with a smile, the words of the creed; And yet there is but one Almighty. Abelard's great offence was, that he eclipsed his rivals, who were jealous of his reputation, and because he would not echo the opinions of others. The monks of St. Dennis looked upon him as guilty of impiety, and a state criminal, because he presumed to question the fable of St. Dennis the Areopagyte, their pretended patron.

All the ideas which they had of the sciences, at that time, came from the Arabians, whose most famous writers were Avicenna and Averroes. They were attached to mathematics, to an appearance of philosophy taken from Aristotle, and to medicine, mixed with judicial astrology. The school of Salerno was indebted to them for its fame; and about the beginning of the twelfth century, this school published its celebrated work, containing the precepts of physic, in Leonine verse. The clergy and monks were for a long time the sole possessors of a science so little suited to their profession; they only could read the books which contained it, and they alone were capable of making any use of them.

Sciences of
the Ara-
bians.

School of
Salerno.

Other schools cultivated different subjects; academies or universities were instituted. We observed before, that the Roman jurisprudence was taught with reputation at Bologna. Irnerius or Wernerus had the honour of making this

Universities.

Civilians of
Bologna.

study flourish in that place, under the emperor Lothaire II. It has been asserted, that his disciple Aso had ten thousand auditors; and Accursus, who succeeded him, was called *the idol of the civilians*. The first authors, or restorers of science, always excite a sort of superstitious veneration. Being themselves superstitiously attached to those books of which they are the interpreters, they often mistake the letter for the spirit of the author; instead of discussing the principles, they carried them to extravagant lengths, defending the false with the same zeal as the true, and often with a greater degree of enthusiasm. The Roman law has had its fanatics, whose prejudices have found the way into modern legislation.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction ought to be limited by the civil.

To which the Concordia of Gratian was opposed.

However, nothing could be more fundamentally useful than that kind of study, where, among a number of bad laws, the most solid foundations of society may be found; in which the principal object of study ought to be the knowledge necessary for fixing the limits of both powers, as much as the nature of things will allow, and the method of restraining the abuse of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But the court of Rome was never without resources. Gratian, a Tuscan monk, in the time of Eugenius III., published his famous collection of canons, intitled, *Concordantia canonum discordantium*; a confused work, badly composed, full of errors, being a series of false decretals, endeavouring to establish a boundless despotism in the Holy See, and to withdraw the clergy entirely from the cognizance of secular tribunals; a work,

a work, however, which was made the basis of the canon law, the rule for decisions, and by continuing several ages, has prevailed over common sense, as well as over the civil law and the true discipline of the church. The commentaries with which it has been loaded are still more absurd than the text.

We shall in this place, with Gianone, take notice of a remarkable instance of the policy of the Romish court. The more the civil law was studied, the more it was necessary to make the canon law prevail. They opposed book to book, still following the same method; *Gratian's* decree to the *pandects*, *Gregory's decretals* to the *code*, to the *novelle* the *sixth decretal*, and the *Clementine constitutions* with the *Extravagants of John and his successors*. Paul IV. caused the canonical *institutes* to be composed, that they might be set in opposition to the *institutes* of Justinian (See *l'Histoire de Naples*, livre xiv.) This kind of study was the road to preferment, and absorbed almost every other.

Means to
make the
canon law
prevail.

The manners in general were still the same; gross stupidity, brutal valour, romantic gallantry, or blind credulity, were the characteristics of the times. Causes were decided by duels or senseless practices; taste and the polite amusements of society were unknown; there was no police, no security for individuals, no just notion of any thing, and consequently, no principle of happiness. The instinct of savages seems preferable to this state of society, where there was neither peace nor regularity.

Manners
always
gross.

Armorial
bearings de-
rived from
the crusades.

An invention derived from the crusades was that of armorial bearings, by which the champions were distinguished under the iron armour that entirely covered their bodies. From hence sprung heraldry, which has been regarded as a science when useful studies were almost entirely neglected.

FIFTH

FIFTH EPOCH A.

Innocent III. and Frederic II.—Increase of the Power of the Popes.—End of the Crusades under St. Louis.

From the Beginning to near the End of the Thirteenth Century.]

CH A P. I.

Pontificate of Innocent III.—His Attempts against Philip Augustus, &c.—Fourth Crusade, and taking of Constantinople.

INNOCENT III. one of the greatest geniuses, and most able and daring men that ever sat upon the papal throne, deserves to be placed at the head of this Epocha, as his attempts and success surpassed those of Gregory VII. Being chosen in the year 1198, before he was forty years of age, he immediately signalised his skill in politics, by some strokes of authority which promised a steady pursuit of despotism. He made himself master of Ancona, Spoleto, and several other places; entered into a league

Innocent III. capable of surpassing Gregory VII.

His first strokes of authority,

a league with the principal cities of Tuscany against the empire; deprived the king of Sicily of the right of being legate in that kingdom, by giving the investiture to the young king Frederic, son of Henry VI. and queen Constance; and if he accepted the guardianship of that prince, who was still an infant, it was not so much with a view to be his protector, as a desire of oppressing him; for he did not long delay to shew his hatred of the house of Suabia, which was too powerful to appear in his eyes the friend of the Holy See.

His hatred
of the house
of Suabia.

1197.
Frederic II.
should have
succeeded
his father
Henry VI.

The imperial crown belonged to Frederic II. because he had been declared king of the Romans from his cradle. His uncle Philip, duke of Franconia and Suabia, marquis of Tuscany, was charged with the guardianship and the regency, but was the more detested by Innocent, as he had despised the censures of the church when excommunicated by Celestine III. The pope inspired the bishop of Cologne with his sentiments, and raised a cabal, which elected Berthold, the declared enemy of the house of Suabia, emperor; but Philip, by a present of eleven thousand merks of silver, persuaded Berthold to desist, and then representing to the states how favourable the minority of Frederic was to the views of the court of Rome, got himself elected, either to gratify his own ambition, or to preserve the crown in his family.

The pope
gets Otho
elected,

He very soon had a competitor to contend with. The archbishop of Cologne, who was the pope's instrument, set every spring in motion, and by his intrigues surreptitiously assembled

assembled a diet, where the votes fell upon Otho of Brunswic, count of Poitou, nephew of Richard king of England, and third son of Henry the Lion, duke of Bavaria, whose rebellions had been punished by Frederic Barbarossa. Otho was indebted to Richard's money for his election, but after the death of that king, his successor John *Lackland* did not continue to assist him. Philip, in alliance with the king of France, having defeated his rival, all Germany declared in his favour; and Innocent, who had excommunicated him, at last was reconciled, in hopes of procuring a daughter of that prince in marriage for his nephew; but the emperor did not long enjoy these advantages, for he was assassinated in 1208, by a nobleman whom he had offended; when Otho IV., who was on the point of being crushed, was universally acknowledged by the diet of the empire.

Philip conquers him, and is assassinated.

Otho succeeds him.

France and England became the theatre of most important transactions: there it was that Innocent III. by his bulls, anathemas, and legates, wanted to dispose of every thing, as the sovereign both of kings and people. Philip-Augustus having divorced Ingelburge, daughter of the king of Denmark, the kingdom was laid under a general interdict in consequence of this divorce, though two legates of Celestine III. had declared the marriage null because of their being related. Thus marriages were annulled or not annulled on account of kindred, according to the views of the court of Rome at the time, and sovereigns had no rule upon which

1200.
Divorce of Philip-Augustus.

He resists at first, but afterwards yields to the pope.

which they could depend. At first, Philip displayed the steadiness of his temper, and punished whoever presumed to disturb the kingdom by executing the orders of the pope; but yielding from policy, he restored the title of queen to Ingelburge, from which she received but little advantage, being immured in a cloister. The views of the pope were directed to England, at that time exposed to violent revolutions, which it was his interest to promote.

John Lackland causes Arthur duke of Bretagne, who disputed the crown, to be assassinated.

After the death of Richard, his brother John, surnamed *Lackland*, because he was left without appanage by Henry II., was acknowledged his successor: but young Arthur, duke of Bretagne, claimed the crown in right of primogeniture, as being son of an elder brother of John. In France, where the feudal tenure is more regarded than in England, and where Philip-Augustus wanted to weaken a powerful rival, Arthur saw Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declare in his favour. A slight accommodation was followed by an open war, as soon as Philip ceased to be afraid of the persecutions of pope Innocent. The French army was victorious; but unfortunately the duke of Bretagne lost a battle, and fell into the hands of his uncle, a cowardly, inhuman tyrant, who, without remorse, caused him to be assassinated.

1203.
He is summoned to the assembly of peers in France.

The mother of Arthur, and the states of Bretagne, applied for justice to the king of France, as lord paramount of the murderer. The vassal being summoned to the assembly of peers, did not attend, and therefore all his possessions in the kingdom were confiscated. It is

is certain, that a vassal was under the jurisdiction of the king, and ought to suffer the sentence of his peers, or the great vassals immediately depending on the crown: but whether the confiscation of so many provinces was lawful, or that, according to the feudal law, John could only be condemned to lose the sovereignty of Bretagne, which was dependent on Normandy, as the Abbé Mably alledges; such a decree could not be enforced but by arms. Philip taking advantage of the stupid cowardice of the king of England, who looked on tamely while he carried all before him, very soon seized Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou, leaving him only Guienne. We may judge of the two kings by the conquests of the one, and the indolence of the other.

Confiscation
of his pro-
vinces.

The English had solicited the protection of Innocent, who set himself up as judge, and frequently commanded both parties to put an end to the war, alledging, that he did not judge of the fact, but of the sin; an admirable subterfuge to claim being judge of all political causes, and in general, all the affairs of the world, for where is it that sin is not to be found? Philip was not much afraid of his threatenings, and replied, that the quarrels of kings were not within the cognizance of the church; but we shall see the pope intermeddle in a manner still more extraordinary.

Innocent
III. sets
himself up as
judge of the
dispute.

In the course of this revolution, Innocent re-kindled the flame of the holy war, and Constantinople became the victim. Foulques, the clergyman of Neuilli, an ignorant enthusiast, succeeded

Fourth cru-
sade preach-
ed up in
France.

succeeded as well as St. Bernard in preaching up a war, which was still called holy, notwithstanding past experience had shewn it to be a source of crimes. Baldwin, count of Flanders, was the head of the expedition; and Venice exacting a considerable sum for transporting the army, supplied the ships. The crusaders began with attacking Zara in Dalmatia, a Christian town which had shaken off the Venetian yoke. The pope denounced excommunications against them in vain; the place was taken, and the Venetians triumphed. Though the indulgences promised to the crusaders were very seducing, yet ambition had attractions still more powerful, especially in the eyes of a commercial people, as greedy of wealth and conquest as the ancient Carthaginians.

The Venetians take Zara, notwithstanding the opposition of the pope.

The crusaders restore Isaacus Angelus, who had been dethroned by his brother.

Upon what conditions,

The storm soon fell upon Constantinople, which was torn in pieces by cruel dissensions. Isaacus Angelus had been dethroned there in the year 1195, by his brother Alexis, who reigned like a cowardly tyrant. The son of Isaacus, whose name likewise was Alexis, implored the assistance of the crusaders against the usurper, promising to supply them with provisions, to pay them two hundred thousand merks of silver, and to submit to the pope, &c. By this means the lawful emperor was restored, and he ratified the treaty, though the conditions seemed to him impossible to be complied with: he caused the sacred vessels to be melted for the payment of the debt, and his son exhausted the state for the same purpose.

While the people were exasperated by these transactions, their hatred was increased by the outrages and depredations of the crusaders, and they revolted against the two emperors, for the son as well as the father enjoyed that title. Isaac died, young Alexis was assassinated, and Alexis-Ducas, surnamed Murtzulphus, the perpetrator of the deed, seized the throne: but the crusaders taking advantage of the conjuncture, seized Constantinople, pillaged it, and gave themselves up to the most enormous excesses. The pope's legate and the bishops at first opposed this enterprise as an act of injustice; but when they saw the advantage it must bring to the Holy See, they authorised the revolt, and promised a plenary indulgence for the conquest.

The Venetians got possession of Peloponnesus, or the Morea, Candia, and several towns: Baldwin obtained the empire with almost no power, for every thing was divided, and the Greeks retained some share. Theodore Lascaris fixed at Nicæa, and an Alexis-Comnenus had Trebisonde: they gave their petty states the name of empires. Baldwin was defeated and cut in pieces by the Bulgarians in the year 1205. Henry, his brother and successor, died by poison in the year 1216. Peter de Courtenai, of the royal family of France, who succeeded him, fell by the treachery of a Comnenus: in one word, the Latin empire of Constantinople had neither strength, glory, nor prosperity, during the fifty years which it lasted. A Christian city, the most flourishing in the world, taken
for

1204.
Constanti-
nople re-
volts.

The crusad-
ers taking
advantage
of this cir-
cumstance
make them-
selves mas-
ters of it.

The Vene-
tians gain
the Morea,
Candia, &c.

But the
French em-
pire of Con-
stantinople
was very
weak.

for the first time, and cruelly plundered by Christians, with a plenary indulgence, sufficiently characterises the prevailing temper of the crusaders.

This conquest approved by Innocent III.

The following expressions were employed by Innocent III. on the subject of this conquest: *God having been pleased to comfort his church by the re-union of the schismatics, has made the empire of the proud, superstitious, disobedient Greeks, to fall under the humble, pious, catholic, and submissive Latins.* In this manner, an advantageous picture is given of men and things, by interested prejudices.

C H A P. II.

The Inquisition; Crusade against the Albigenes.—Reign of John Lackland.—Death of Innocent III.

War against heretics, the consequence of the crusades.

AFTER the success of such an enterprise, it was to be expected that more of the same kind would follow. Examples always serve for rules. If a war against schismatics could be called holy, that name might with much more reason be given to one against heretics, whose number increased daily, and whose doctrines undermined the power of the clergy, and the established principles of the church. The pride and curiosity of the human mind; the detestation of abuses rendered sacred by ignorance;

Sources of heresy.

norance; a frantic zeal for reformation, which was even more dangerous than the abuses; the obstinacy and rashness so natural to enthusiasts, when it is attempted to compel them to believe what they do not believe, or to punish their errors as crimes; all together served to spread and excite that passion for new sects, which the flaming piles at Orleans in the time of king Robert could not destroy.

The twelfth century produced many innovators, because the desire of liberty led to licentiousness; and in consequence of their reasoning upon religion, they ventured to break through the bounds of the faith. Peter de Bruys, a native of Dauphiny, attacked infant-baptism, the mass, prayers for the dead, the worship of the cross, and other articles which have been controverted ever since. His execution, like that of Arnold of Brescia, served only as a signal for rebellion. France and Italy were filled with heretics, *cathari* or *patarines*, *the humbled*, *the poor men of Lyons*, or *Waldenses*, or *Albigenses*, all of them having nearly the same principles, and all commonly confounded under the name of Manicheans, though their opinions seemed very different from manicheism; almost all of them accused, though without proof (as the first Christians were by the idolaters, and afterwards the Jews by the Christians), either of sacrificing children, or committing abominable excesses at their nocturnal assemblies. They were for the most part bigotted fanatics, who taking the gospel according to the letter, madly run after chimeras of perfection.

What were the heretics of the twelfth century.

Origin of
the inquisition.

Innocent
ordained
temporal
punishments
for heresy.

1208.
He excom-
municates
Raimond,
count of
Toulouse.

Lucius III., at a council held in Rome, in the year 1184, had already given orders to the bishops to make diligent search for persons suspected of heresy, even upon simple informations, that they might be given up to the secular power after undergoing spiritual punishments. His bull contained the seeds of the inquisition, which very soon made rapid progress. In the year 1198, Innocent sent two Cistercian monks into the southern provinces of France to prosecute heretics. He commanded princes and lords to punish all who should be excommunicated, by confiscations or banishment, or methods still more severe; and gave authority to the two monks to compel the lords to compliance by censures and interdicts: what disturbances must not such an order produce!

Raimond VI., count of Toulouse, a descendant of the general who commanded in the first crusade, interested himself in favour of his unhappy subjects the Albigenses, whom the pope wanted to exterminate. Innocent excommunicated him as a favourer of heresy. It is probable that the missionary legates, whose insolence had occasioned great discontent, shewed very little respect to the excommunicated prince, either in their discourse or behaviour. St. Dominic, who was at that time a regular canon, was joined to them along with a Spanish bishop; and advised them to change their life, recommending to them the austerity of the apostles; but he could not soften their prejudices. Peter de Castelnau, one of these legates, having been
assassi-

assassinated, the murder was imputed to Raimond. Without examination, without proof, and against law, the pontiff gave his dominions to whoever could make themselves masters of them; at the same time publishing a crusade against him, with all the indulgences which could be obtained in a war against the Turks.

He gives away his dominions, and publishes the crusade against the Albigenes.

The count de Toulouse, too weak to defend himself, submitted, begged absolution, made the *amende honorable* in his shirt, was beaten with rods, and gave up seven towns as a proof of his sincerity and penitence. It was even insisted on, that he should take the cross against his subjects, and he obeyed. The famous Simon de Montfort, chief of the expedition, shed torrents of heretical blood in the name of the Lord. The abbot of the Cistercians, who was legate, and the bishops themselves, who had taken the cross, inflamed the fanatics, and thousands of Albigenes were burnt or massacred without mercy. It would seem as if murder had been an act of Christian piety. Experience, at least, proved, though fruitlessly, that this was not the way to extirpate heresy.

He compels Raimond to take the cross.

Barbarity of the crusaders, and of the count de Montfort, their chief.

Amidst these cruelties, Raimond being stript of a great part of his dominions, which he was commanded to yield to the count de Montfort, fled for refuge to his brother-in-law, Peter II., king of Arragon, and was again excommunicated. Peter not being able to obtain any favour for him, took up arms, entered Languedoc, and lost his life at the battle of Muret, in the year 1213, when the crusaders gained a complete victory; and it was in vain for Raimond

Raimond stript of his dominions, implores help from Peter II., king of Arragon. Peter killed at the battle of Muret.

to sue either for pardon or justice. Innocent III., at a council in the Lateran, would only grant him the benefit of doing penance, with a pension of four hundred merks. Montfort, entirely devoted to the church, which so well rewarded his zeal, continued his outrages till the year 1218, when he fell at the siege of Toulouse.

Quarrels of
John Lack-
land with
Innocent.

During the crusade of the Albigenses, Innocent signalised himself by still more surprising attempts against the crown of England. Notwithstanding the opposition of the king, he bestowed the see of Canterbury upon cardinal Langton. John Lackland, who was equally passionate and cowardly, insulted and provoked the pontiff, who immediately thundered his censures against him, and laid his kingdom under an interdict: a personal excommunication denounced against the king, in the year 1209, set the whole nation in a flame. Almost all the prelates withdrew; the barons, over whom the king had tyrannised, entered into conspiracies; every thing favoured the vengeance of Innocent, and inspired him with a presumption which nothing could moderate.

1212.
The pope
gives his
kingdom to
the king of
France.

He at last bestowed the kingdom on Philip Augustus, and granted him the indulgences of a crusade to put this odious sentence in execution. To accept it, was to acknowledge that the pope was employing his lawful authority, and to expose himself from that time to be dethroned by a bull; but ambition is blind, or rather Philip was not afraid of such treatment, and was glad to take advantage of the present oppor-

opportunity: he therefore accepted the grant, and, with a fleet of seventeen hundred sail, set out to conquer England. Then it was that the whole address of Roman policy was displayed. Pandolphus, the legate, went to Dover to treat with John; and having represented his danger, prevailed with him to receive Langton, and to yield up his kingdom to the pope. In 1213, the mean-spirited king acknowledged himself the vassal of the holy father, obliged himself to pay an annual tribute of a thousand merks of silver, fell upon his knees before the legate, who was seated upon a throne, and took the oath of fidelity. Innocent III. congratulated king John in high terms, on his possessing a *sacerdotal kingdom*; and Pandolphus immediately hastened to declare to the king of France, that England, being a fief of the Roman church, he must not attack it, upon pain of excommunication.

Artifice of
Pandolphus.

The treachery was too black for a possibility of finding a rational pretence to varnish it: almost the whole vassals of Philip shared in the indignation with which he was animated: having had the misfortune to lose his fleet, he was not able to carry his arms into England; but he revenged himself upon the count of Flanders and the emperor Otho IV., who were the allies of John, and defeated the imperial army, which was double the strength of his own, in a battle fought at Bouvines in Flanders. This famous victory increased his authority in the kingdom.

Philip Au-
gustus loses
his fleet.

But he gains
the battle of
Bouvines.

On the contrary, that of John grew weaker every day; his injustice, treachery, and cruelty made his own subjects rebel against him; and

1215.
Rebellion
of the En-
glish.

A a 3

Langton,

*Magna
Charta.*

Violated by
John, and
condemned
by the pope.

The crown
of England
offered to
the son of
Philip Au-
gustus.

The death
of John
makes a to-
tal change.

Langton, the primate, set himself at the head of the insurgents. They compelled the king to sign the *Magna Charta*, which the English, at this day, look upon as the foundation of their liberties. Among other articles it declares, that the king shall impose no tax without the consent of parliament; that no person shall be prosecuted, but according to law; and that no freeman shall be imprisoned, banished, &c. but by the sentence of his peers. The barons took the sovereign authority into their own hands; but John soon broke his oath. Innocent III. condemned it as an incroachment on the privileges of the Holy See, and denounced excommunication against whoever should dare to maintain it: upon which the English offered the crown to Louis, son and heir of Philip Augustus.

Neither father nor son were affected by the anathemas which were threatened. Philip pretended to oppose the enterprise, but privately furnished the means for its execution; both being excommunicated, only served to make them more ardent in the pursuit. In the year 1216, Louis had almost completed the conquest of England, when the death of John suddenly put an end to all his hopes. As the national jealousies had already found vent, and nothing but the detestation of a tyrant could have supported the interest of a foreign prince, the English immediately proclaimed young Henry III., eldest son of the late king; and prince Louis was obliged to abandon a crown, which it was not possible to unite with that of France.

Innocent III., transported with rage at the news of the expedition of prince Louis, mounted the pulpit, and exclaimed, *Sword, sword, come forth from thy scabbard, and sharpen thyself to kill*; an expression which served as a prelude to new anathemas. He died in the year 1216. Some authors greatly praise this pontiff; while Matthew Paris, an English monk, and the best historian of his time, paints him in the blackest colours: but a single word is sufficient; Gregory VII. was his model, and he surpassed that model. The mendicant orders, of which the popes made such advantageous use, were instituted by him; it was he that established the inquisition, which has frequently been as terrible to science as to heresy.

Death of
Innocent
III. in
1216.

He made himself sovereign in Rome, from whence so many popes had been driven by various factions: he had possession of the patrimony of St. Peter; that is, Romania, Ombria, the marche of Ancona, Viterbo, &c. which made part of the dominions given to the Holy See by the countess Matilda. None of his predecessors had been so powerful as a prince, or so terrible as pope. He did not acquire this power but by dint of intrigues and excommunications.

His power
in quality of
sovereign.

The disturbances which he excited in Germany were one of the main instruments of his policy. In bestowing the imperial crown on Otho IV., he made him swear to restore the marche of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, with the other allodial possessions of Matilda, and to renounce the right of mortmain, or the spoils of the prelates. The next year Otho violated his

The condi-
tions upon
which he
crowned
Otho IV.
emperor.

Frederic II.
proclaimed
instead of
Otho.

oath, which he said was incompatible with that he had taken to defend the rights of the empire; but Innocent was avenged by civil wars and excommunications. In the year 1212, young Frederic, king of Sicily, was proclaimed emperor by the diet of Nuremberg; and his rival, who was defeated at Bouvines by Philip Augustus, finding that he was not capable of preserving himself upon the throne, voluntarily renounced it; and the pope procured whatever he pleased from Frederic II., who very soon became the victim of pontifical hatred.

Anarchy of
Germany.

Frederic, at the beginning of his reign, required his nobles to take an oath, that they would not counterfeit money, nor rob upon the highway. Such an oath is a sufficient proof of the anarchy into which Germany had sunk. The emperor having caused his son Henry to be elected king of the Romans, at the diet of Frankfort, in the year 1220, obtained the consent of the states to go and receive the imperial crown; and renounced the right of mortmain, the power of establishing new tolls, of building forts, and of making foreign money current in the possessions of the clergy; who were already so powerful in Germany, and became more so by these concessions.

Concessions
of the em-
peror before
he went to
Italy.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

The Emperor Frederic II. persecuted by Gregory IX.—His Expedition to Palestine.—End of the War against the Albigenfes.—Beginning of the Reign of St. Louis.

FREDERIC, who was crowned by pope Honorius III., not only fulfilled his promise of restoring the inheritance of the countess Matilda to the Holy See, but likewise gave up the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to his son, at the same time declaring that kingdom incapable of being united with the imperial dominions. The court of Rome dreaded that it would no longer be a fief of the Holy See, if the union took place. The power of the house of Suabia gave the pope the most anxious disquiet: an emperor, who was king of Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily; whose territories furrounded the papal dominions on every side, must naturally expect to be exposed to the shafts which would be levelled at him by the ambitious policy of the pontiffs; who, in quality of sovereigns, gave too much attention to their temporal interests.

Frederic, having been accustomed to the charms of so fine a climate from his infancy, was fond of living in Italy; but that country was distracted by the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelins, which the quarrels between the priesthood and the emperors had occasioned in Germany

1220.
Frederic forever parts the kingdom of the Two Sicilies from the imperial dominions.

Italy torn in pieces by the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelins.

Germany about a century before; the first of them declaring in favour of the popes, the second of the emperors. Discord prevailed in cities and in private families; and nothing was to be seen but mortal enmities, outrage, and depredations; the inhabitants of towns fighting with one another, after they had fought with their neighbours; but Lombardy, in particular, became a theatre of endless discord.

The civil wars of the Lombards not very bloody.

"In these wars of the Lombards," says Muratori, "the people did not renounce humanity; whoever begged for quarter obtained it; and they thought it a greater honour to make prisoners than to kill their enemies." This moderation did not prevent them from feeling the miseries of war; yet, amidst all their divisions, the Lombards always retained a spirit of independence: Milan had seduced most of the other cities to join in a league against the emperor; and Frederic was preparing to reduce them, when the court of Rome, which could not endure him in Italy, found means to make him withdraw from that country.

Bad success of a new crusade;

in which a monk, who was legate, wanted to command.

Some years before, an army of French, Germans, Hungarians, Italians, and English, had gone into the East to establish John de Brienne, a younger son of the house of Champagne, upon the throne of Jerusalem. In the year 1219, they took Damietta in Egypt, after a two years siege; but Pelagius, a Spanish monk and cardinal, who was legate of the crusade, having alledged that the pope being the chief of the holy wars, the command belonged to him; and the pontiff, whose orders they expected, having decided

decided in his favour, this new general managed so well as to ruin the expedition. The misfortunes of one crusade only served to bring on another, and the present occasion seemed favourable for getting rid of Frederic.

He had engaged in a crusade against the Infidels, under Innocent III.; and to interest him still more, he was persuaded to marry Yolande, the only daughter of John de Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem; but as the affairs of Europe were of more importance to him than those of Palestine, he prudently deferred the expedition. Even Sicily, his hereditary kingdom, was disturbed by quarrels with the pontiff. At last Gregory IX., who succeeded Honorius III., a pontiff of a most ungovernable temper, commanded him to accomplish his vow, and obliged him to embark; but excommunicated him, because he returned sick to Brindisi, after having been three days at sea. The next year Frederic embarked again; but because he had not got himself absolved before his departure, he was again excommunicated. The court of Rome was resolved to ruin him, and all his proceedings were converted into crimes.

Notwithstanding the anathema, no one ever succeeded so well; for Almelec, the sultan of Egypt, yielded to him, by treaty, Jerusalem, Bethlem, Nazareth, and Sidon; and they agreed upon a truce for ten years. Both princes gained by the accommodation; for the Mussulman, who had been exposed to civil wars, was freed from the Christian army; and Frederic, now master of Jerusalem, the great object of the crusades; could

1227.
The emperor engages in another crusade.

Gregory IX. obliges him to set out, and excommunicates him after his departure.

He gains Jerusalem by treaty.

could return to protect his own dominions, which were attacked by Gregory IX.

The pope
imputes it
to him as a
crime ;

The pope having imputed to him as a crime his departure, while under sentence of excommunication, did not fail to lay another to his charge, for having treated with infidels ; but more particularly for having allowed them a mosque in Jerusalem, which they likewise regarded as a holy city. The pontiff fulminated the most terrible excommunications against him, set Italy in a flame, seized I. a Puglia, armed John de Brienne against his son-in law, made an offer of the empire to different princes, and certainly would have dethroned the emperor, if the Germans had at that time been as much disposed to rebellion as the Italians.

and kindles
wars against
him.

1230.
Frederic
triumphs,
but never-
theless pays
money to the
pope.

Frederic arrived, and triumphed over his enemies, and the Romans seized the opportunity of revolting against Gregory ; who being reduced to extremity, entered into a negociation with the emperor, and granted him absolution, upon condition of his paying a hundred and thirty thousand merks of silver. The popes had rendered themselves so formidable by their anathemas, that though they were defeated, the conquerors were still happy if they could purchase a peace. Frederic did not long enjoy it ; for his son Henry, whom he had caused to be chosen king of the Romans, followed the example of the son of Henry IV. ; undoubtedly because the pontiff imitated that of Urban II. and Pascal II. ; but the rebel was punished ; for, being seized in the year 1234, he ended his life in a prison ; and the battle of Cortenuova, which

He punishes
his rebellious
son.

He defeats
the people

FIFTH EPOCH.

365

Frederic gained afterwards over the people of Milan, seemed to put an end to rebellion, and the league of Lombardy.

of Milan at
Cortenuova.

However, the war with the priesthood was again rekindled, on account of Sardinia. Gregory IX., from ancient prejudices, alledged, that this island belonged to the Holy See, and the emperor claimed it as a fief of the empire; upon which the animosity of the pontiff burst forth with redoubled fury. He absolved the subjects of the emperor from their oath of fidelity, and endeavoured to arm all Europe against a prince who was more detestable in his eyes than the Mussulmen, and devoted to this war all the money and troops that had been raised for a new crusade. He publicly accused Frederic of having represented Moses and Jesus Christ as impostors, like Mahomet; of having ranked Jesus Christ, crucified, far below the two others who died in glory; of having said, that it was nonsense to believe that a creating God could be born of a woman, a virgin, &c. The emperor justified his faith by a writing, wherein he retorted insult for insult, calling Gregory *the Great Dragon, Antechrist, another Balaam, a Prince of Darkness*. As France was upon the point of engaging in the quarrel, it is necessary to shew the state of the kingdom at that time.

1239.
Gregory
persecutes
him anew
on account
of Sardinia.

Their mu-
tual re-
proaches,

Philip Augustus, the first who restored the royal authority, and the first who had hired troops, or kept an army on foot in time of peace, died in the year 1223, and was succeeded by his son Louis VIII., who reigned but a short time.

Under Louis
VIII. a new
act of injus-
tice done to
the count de
Toulouse.

time. Being engaged in the crusade against the Albigenses, he seized the dominions of young Raimond, count de Toulouse, who had been excommunicated as a heretic, by a legate of Honorius III., though the pope had lately received him into the pale of the church. An accusation of heresy greatly depended upon circumstances, and was a weapon kept in reserve to ruin the unfortunate. This king died at his return from his expedition, in the year 1226.

End of the
affair of the
Albigenses,
under St.
Louis.

Louis IX., better known by the name of St. Louis, was then only twelve years old. The prudent steadiness of the regent, Blanche of Castille, his mother, quieted the disturbances occasioned by the ambition of some of his vassals. The affair of the Albigenses was terminated in a manner conformable to the prevailing prejudices, rather than according to justice and humanity. Raimond did not obtain peace, but by promising to extirpate the heretics, to make the *amende honorable* in his shirt, and to give a part of his dominions to the pope and to the king; he was then admitted into the pale of the church, and received absolution: by this means the Holy See acquired the Venaissin, which is in the interior part of the kingdom. It must be owned, that such acquisitions were worthy of the barbarous ages.

The pope
gains the
combat.

Henry III.;
king of
England,
hateful to
his subjects.

Henry III., king of England, a weak, volatile, and imprudent prince, whose reign was a continued series of rebellions and disturbances, became odious to his subjects, by giving himself
up

up to the management of some greedy foreigners, natives of Poitou, who ruled him as they pleased. In hopes of recovering Normandy, and the other provinces which had been lost to France, he joined the count de Bretagne, to make war against that country, which he carried on in a manner equally cowardly and unsuccessful; nor could he prevent St. Louis from establishing his authority more and more every day.

Notwithstanding the piety of that great prince, in a superstitious age, he saw that the ecclesiastical power was absurd, and had steadiness to oppose it, without losing the respect due to the church. The temporalities of some bishops were seized, as a punishment for censures and odious interdicts which they had fulminated from views of interest or revenge. The court of Rome, whose enterprises were of more fatal tendency, did not find that blind prejudice in Louis, which was necessary for their support.

The clergy
restrained in
France.

CHAP. IV.

Continuation of the Quarrels raised by the Popes against Frederic II.—Government of St. Louis before his first Crusade.

1240,
St. Louis
refuses the
empire of-
fered by
Gregory IX.

He supposes,
however,
that force
should be
employed
against the
emperor, if a
heretic.

Death of
Gregory,
who was
unlucky in
his at-
tempts.

GREGORY IX. wrote into France that he had excommunicated Frederic, and given the empire to the count d'Artois, the brother of St. Louis. The prudent king not only refused a gift which the pope had no right to bestow, but replied, that this offer was evidently the effect of hatred against the emperor, who had always appeared to him to be a good catholic; however, he would send ambassadors to be informed of his faith; if he found him orthodox, he could see no reason for attacking him; but if he found him a heretic, he would make war against him to the last extremity, as he would against the pope himself in the like case. After the crusade against the Albigenses, and the establishment of the inquisition, was it to be doubted, that heresy ought to be extirpated by the sword? It was no small matter to examine the true motive for so dangerous an imputation.

The war notwithstanding continued between the pope and the emperor, and the legates every where extorted money to support it, as if christianity had been at stake. England groaned under their rapine, and even France did not escape.

escape. Gregory wanted to strike the final blow at a council to which he had summoned the French bishops, who obeyed his orders without meeting any obstruction from the king; but Frederic having caused the road leading to Rome to be guarded, these prelates were seized, and the pope died with vexation at his disappointment.

His zeal for the conversion of the Mahometans was nearly of the same nature with his violence against Frederic. He wrote long letters to a number of the princes of that religion, inviting them to embrace the Christian faith; at the same time threatening, if they persisted in their error, to raise their Christian subjects in rebellion against them. His threatenings had no greater effect than the sermons of St. Francis d'Assise, who at the siege of Damietta proposed the ordeal by fire to the sultan of Egypt, to prove which of the two was the true religion. They scarce condescended to give him a hearing.

Celestine IV., the successor of Gregory IX., having died in a few days after he was elected, the Holy See continued vacant for almost two years, owing to the dissensions among the cardinals. The emperor wrote to them: "All
" the world declares that the father of lies and
" discord sits in the midst of you, and not Jesus
" Christ, the author of peace; that each of you
" aiming at the pontificate is unwilling that
" it should fall to another." At last cardinal Fiesco, who had formerly been his friend, was chosen by the name of Innocent IV., and, as

Foolish at-
tempts to
convert the
Mussulmen.

1243.
Innocent
IV., chosen
after a long
vacancy.

Three kings
refuse to
receive him
into their
dominions.

Frederic had foreseen and declared, became his enemy when he became pope. After fruitless negotiations that pontiff quitted Italy, from a supposition that his person was in danger. He sued to the kings of France, Arragon, and England, for an asylum, but they all refused to receive him: they suffered too much from the exactions and despotism of the court of Rome while at a distance, not to be afraid of its neighbourhood.

England
particularly
oppressed by
the court of
Rome.

England was particularly oppressed, most of the benefices being in the hands of Italians, whose revenues exceeded those of the crown; for which reason the pope, dreading a refusal, employed finesse, and caused some of the cardinals to write to Henry III. in the following

Henry III.
is, however,
almost the
dupe of his
artifices.

terms: "As friends, we give you a piece of advice which is both honourable and useful; it is, to send ambassadors to the pope to intreat him to honour your kingdom, to which he has a particular right, with his presence, and we will endeavour to prevail on him to comply with your desire. You will acquire immortal honour, if England should be the residence of the sovereign pontiff, which never yet happened." The weak Henry fell into the snare, but he was dissuaded by the strongest remonstrances. *It is already too much, said the people to him, that the Romans taint us with their simonies and usuries, without the pope coming in person to rob the church and kingdom.*

1245.
Council
held at

Innocent IV. retired to Lyons, a city which had been taken from the emperor by the archbishops,

bishops, where he held a general council, in which he accused the emperor of perjury, sacrilege, heresy, and felony, and with a solemnity calculated to strike terror, pronounced the sentence of excommunication and deposition against him, without deigning to pay the least attention to the promises of that prince. Frederic, by his ambassadors, obliged himself to repair all the injuries done to the Roman church; to endeavour to reduce the Greek church entirely under his authority; to go in person to re-establish the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been totally destroyed by the infidels: the kings of France and England to be his security. The pope refused them for guarantees, saying, that he should be obliged to chastise them as well as Frederic, if he broke his word; and in that case the Holy See would have three powerful enemies instead of one.

The eyes of the people began to be opened on the abuse of anathemas fulminated against crowned heads, which became ridiculous by their absurdity, and the odium they occasioned. A parish priest in Paris ventured to say in his pulpit, "I am commanded to publish the excommunication against the emperor Frederic H.; I do not know the occasion; I only know that there have been great quarrels, and an irreconcilable hatred between him and the pope. Not knowing which of the two is in the wrong, I excommunicate, as far as I can, and hereby declare him excommunicated who hath done the injury, and I absolve the sufferer." Even the indecency of

Lyons against Frederic II.

The pope rejects his offers.

The eyes of the people begin to be opened.

Boldness of a parish-priest in Paris.

this railery serves to prove, that reason was rising up to oppose tyrannical prejudices.

Resolution
of Frederic
when de-
posed.

The emperor received the news of his deposition at Turin, and laying hold of his crown, *Much blood shall be spilt, said he, before this be wrested from me.* His chancellor, Peter de Vignes, wrote some angry letters in his name against the Romish clergy, in which he accused the princes of being the occasion of such excesses, *by obeying those hypocrites, whose boundless ambition was not unknown to them.* However, some German bishops, excited by the legates to rebel, chose the Landgrave of Thuringia emperor, who in railery was called, *the king of the priests.* Conrad, the son of Frederic, having defeated the Thuringian, who did not long survive, the same prelates elected the earl of Holland. The clergy of Germany were become so powerful, that these excesses were no longer a matter of surprise.

The Ger-
man bishops
choose an
emperor.

Death of
Frederic II.
in 1250.

Frederic II., who was persecuted to his death, though he underwent an examination to purge himself from the crime of heresy, which was imputed to him, always sought an accommodation with the pope; but never being able to accomplish it, was obliged to have recourse to arms to defend his rights. He had reduced the rebels in Italy, when, it is said, his bastard son Manfredi poisoned and smothered him in the year 1250. The reign of Conrad IV., his lawful son and successor, was a continued series of trouble and misfortunes; the imperial authority grew every day weaker; the Italians and the kingdom of Arles rendered themselves independent.

Under Con-
rad IV.
Italy shakes
off the yoke.

dependent. Neither the empire nor emperor were longer known, and every thing fell into the utmost disorder.

Let us return to St. Louis, who, from his good qualities and prudent government, may be esteemed the greatest prince of the age, and who cannot be charged with any faults, but such as he was led into by the prevailing opinions of the time in which he lived. The count de la Marche entered into a rebellion against him, and was supported by the king of England; but two victories which he gained over the English at Taillebourg and Saintes, in the year 1242, having secured the peace of the kingdom, Louis dedicated all his attention to reform abuses; an immense subject, and worthy to engage all his powers.

One consequence of the feudal anarchy was, that the same lord possessing fiefs both in France and England, was obliged to serve him of the two sovereigns of whom he held the principal fief; and, of course, sometimes to be the enemy of the king whose subject he was by birth. From the time that Normandy and some other provinces were re-united to the crown, this dreadful disorder was not uncommon. To remedy this evil, Louis declared in the words of the gospel, that one man could not serve two masters; that he could not consent that his vassals should likewise be the vassals of a foreign prince, and that he gave them leave to choose between him and the king of England. Almost all the nobles who held fiefs in England renounced them, preferring the sovereignty of a

St. Louis
defeats the
English, and
reforms
abuses.

Regulations
concerning
fiefs.

king who was equally steady and just, to that of a prince like Henry III., who had neither power nor authority.

Violent zeal
against
heretics.

But, unfortunately for France, Louis could not guard himself against some prejudices which had made dreadful havoc. He favoured the tribunal of the inquisition which was intrusted to the Dominicans, and already famous for its iniquitous barbarities. Being persuaded that heretics ought to be put to death, Louis could not fail to attach great merit to the war against the Mussulmen. He was seized with the sanguinary devotion of the crusades, and made all the wounds of the kingdom bleed afresh. In a violent disorder with which he was seized in the year 1244, he fancied that he was commanded by heaven to take the cross; and, at his recovery from a lethargic fit, made a vow to accomplish it, which he thought himself under an indispensable obligation to fulfil, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his mother, the nobles, and more particularly the bishop of Paris, whose reasons would have convinced any man less influenced by prejudice.

Louis makes
a vow to
take the
cross, and
persists to
accomplish
it.

Prepara-
tions. Tax
upon the
church.

Near four years were spent in making preparations, and a tax was laid upon the clergy for that purpose. Innocent at the same time exacted one for the support of the war against Frederic II. So loud were the murmurs of the clergy, that the king suppressed the last tax, as he said he did not approve of ruining the benefices to fight against Christians; but unfortunately he ruined himself to be defeated by Infidels.

A cele-

A celebrated historian, attentive to important details, makes a curious observation in this place. "We may see, by the expences of St. Louis, how France was impoverished by the crusades. He gave eight thousand livres to the lord of Valleri for thirty knights; the constable received three thousand livres for fifteen; the archbishop of Reims and the bishop of Langres received each of them four thousand livres for fifteen knights, whom they commanded in person. A hundred and sixty-two knights ate at the king's table. These expences and the preparations were immense." (*Essai sur l'Hist. Gener.*) The nobles spent their fortunes in the crusades, which likewise exhausted the revenues of the crown.

Expence of
the king
for this
expedition.

I am not unacquainted with what has been advanced in favour of those enterprises by panegyrists, who have displayed all the powers of eloquence to represent them in the most favourable light, either from political or religious views. There an orator may shine, but can he convince? Let even history allow, that the intentions of St. Bernard, St. Louis, and the rest, were excellent; but that the crusades could succeed in their circumstances, can never be believed, when we reflect upon the manners, principles, governments, and the general or particular state of Europe.

Could the
crusades
succeed?

C H A P. V.

Conquests of Genghiz-Kan.—Unfortunate Expedition of St. Louis into Egypt.—Rebellion in England against Henry III.

Genghiz-Kan made a revolution in Asia.

ASIA had always been a theatre of revolutions, and lately changed its appearance. The Turkish dynasty of the Corasmins, the mistress of Chorassan towards the end of the eleventh century, had afterwards extended its conquests as far as Syria on the one hand, and to the heart of Tartary on the other, when the celebrated Genghiz-Kan, or Genzis-Kan, at the head of the Mogul or Mongol Tartars, came to erect upon the ruins of that vast empire another more powerful. He subdued Tartary, a great part of China and Indostan, and Persia as far as the river Euphrates; his troops laid waste Russia, and, in one word, his conquests were supposed to extend above eighteen hundred leagues from East to West, and a thousand from South to North. He died at an advanced age, in the year 1226, when he was upon the point of reducing all China.

Division of his empire.

His empire was divided among his four sons. One of his grandsons seized that part of Asia-Minor which is at present called Natolia, and destroyed the sovereignty of the califs of Bagdad; another, after having made Constanti-

nople

nople tremble, carried the terror of his arms into Dalmatia, and even into Hungary. These ferocious Tartars, accustomed from their infancy to despise hunger, fatigue, and death, were invincible conquerors while they preserved their rough and savage manners. We have seen the Huns and the Turks issue from the same deserts, and these will again be followed by new hordes no less formidable.

As the Goths had formerly thrown themselves upon Thrace, when they were driven from their own country by the Huns, in like manner the Corasmins, flying before the Mogul Tartars, poured upon Syria and Palestine, and took possession of Jerusalem in the year 1244, where they made a dreadful massacre, and cut in pieces the Christians who were in league with the Sultan of Damascus. The Christians preserved Antioch, Tyre, Tripoli, Sidon, and Acre, or Ptolemais. Always at variance among themselves, they sued for assistance from Europe at the very time they were destroying one another by their quarrels and dissensions.

The farther we advance in the history of the crusades, the more are we astonished to see this madness continue, notwithstanding the lessons of experience. Towards the beginning of this century a queen of Hungary took the cross, as did likewise fifty thousand children, with a crowd of priests, because, according to the scripture, *God has made children the instruments of his glory*. Upon occasion of this ridiculous crusade, Innocent III. prognosticated that the power of Mahomet was near an end, *since*, said he,

The Corasmins pressed by the Tartars laid waste Jerusalem.

Ridiculous crusade of children before that of St. Louis.

he, it is the beast in the Revelations whose number is six hundred and sixty-six, and near six hundred years are already past. All this ought not to be so surprising as the prejudice of a great prince in favour of enterprises, which had always proved fatal to states, and never useful to the cause of religion.

1248.
Unfortunate
expedition
of that
prince into
Egypt.

He is made
prisoner.

His fruitless
expedition
into Palest-
ine.

Louis embarked with a great army, and instead of going on to Palestine attacked Egypt. At first he performed prodigies of valour, gained a victory, and took Damietta; but afterwards he experienced nothing but misfortunes. In the year 1250, being defeated at Maffoura, where his brother the count d'Artois was killed, he made a fruitless attempt to repair this misfortune. His army, weakened by debauchery, was reduced to extremity by want and diseases. He again fought, and with all his nobility was made prisoner by the Muffulmen. The city of Damietta, and a million of byzantines of gold, valued at a hundred thousand merks of silver, were demanded for his ransom. "A king of France, he replied, does not redeem himself with money;" but he gave the city for his own ransom, and the money for that of his subjects, and concluded a truce of ten years. Being fettered in Palestine by his devotions, he lost four years in a fruitless attempt of freeing Jerusalem; and was less affected with the wants of his kingdom, which had been represented to him in the strongest colours, than with this chimerical pursuit. Such efficacy have pious illusions, that they can withdraw the best hearts from the road of their common duties!

Happily

Happily Blanche of Castile, the king's mother, governed the kingdom with prudence in quality of regent. The Dominicans and Franciscans, who were zealous emissaries of Innocent IV., preached up a crusade against the emperor Conrad, when the indulgences were extended even to the fathers and mothers of all who should take the cross; but she had the steadiness to contend against the absurdity and injustice of the attempt. She gave orders that the lands of all those that enrolled themselves should be confiscated: "Let the pope, since he will make war, said she, provide his own army."

His mother
opposes a
crusade
against Con-
rad.

In the mean time the people were seized with a new species of fanaticism. The same man who occasioned the crusade of the children, preached up one in the name of the angels and the holy virgin, to the shepherds and peasants, promising them wonderful success. He very soon mustered a hundred thousand men to follow the standard of the cross, who were called *the pastorals*. The regent at first hoped they were designed as a reinforcement for her son; but they were only a band of robbers, whom it was found necessary to exterminate.

Fanaticism
of the pas-
torals.

The death of that illustrious princess at last determined Louis to return to his dominions, where his zeal for justice, his application to correct abuses, his laws, and his own example, repaired the evils which had been occasioned by his long absence. His politics were regulated by rectitude and disinterestedness, which, perhaps, he carried too great a length. He

1254.
The king's
return ne-
cessary to
France.

has been censured for giving up some provinces that belonged to the crown; but the motive of such a generous sacrifice, inspired by a love of peace, and looked upon by some respectable authors as advantageous in his situation, deserves commendation.

He gives up Roussillon and Catalonia to the king of Arragon.

He restores several confiscated provinces to the king of England.

Rebellion of the English barons.

James I., king of Arragon, whose daughter Isabella was married to Philip the Hardy, one of the sons of France, laid claim to a number of arrear fiefs belonging to the crown, in Provence and Languedoc, though his pretensions were mostly ill-founded; Louis, in exchange for them, yielded to him his incontestible rights on Roussillon and Catalonia, which had belonged to the French monarchy ever since the conquest of Charlemagne. The year after he restored Limousin, Perigord, Querci, and Agenois, to the king of England, upon condition of his paying him liege homage; without receiving any thing in exchange but a renunciation of the claims of the English kings to Normandy and the other confiscated provinces. The validity of the confiscation seemed to him unquestionable; he had plausible reasons for seizing the rest of Guienne; and Henry, struggling with his barons, could not have resisted. To account for this last treaty, we must lose sight of all the political maxims of courts; and the king certainly acted rather like an honest man than an able prince.

With matchless magnanimity he attempted to quiet the disturbances in England, which a Philip-Augustus in his place would have turned to his own advantage. The English barons,

not

not from zeal for the public, but from a spirit of faction and independence, had revolted against the weak Henry, upon a pretence that he had violated *magna charta*, that he tyrannised over the people, and sacrificed every thing to foreign favourites. In the year 1258 they held a parliament in Oxford, where they formed a council of twenty-four, who governed like despots; of these the earl of Leicester, son of the famous earl of Mountfort, was chief, and the king a mere cypher; but the tyranny of these pretended reformers, their quarrels and dissensions, procured him the means of recovering his authority. Pope Alexander IV. declared against the barons, because they expelled the Italians, who had been in possession of benefices; but Henry very soon fell back to his former situation, and a civil war being rekindled, the king of France was chosen arbiter: both parties swore to submit to his decision. What more honourable proof of respect could be paid to virtue?

St. Louis pronounced in favour of the royal authority, annulled the statutes of Oxford, and whatever had been the consequence of their being passed; but at the same time declaring, that he did not mean to diminish the liberties of the people, nor to encroach upon the charters of the nation. This equitable sentence was eluded by the insurgents, and Leicester declared, that the decision ought to be interpreted against the king, as the statutes passed at Oxford were founded on *magna charta*. The passions are never without an excuse, and the rebels

1264.
St. Louis
chosen to
decide the
disputes in
England.

His sentence
eluded by
the barons.

Rebellion of
the English
barons.

Henry III.,
a prisoner,
saved by his
son.

rebels took up arms; when Henry, who was defeated and made prisoner at the battle of Lewes, would have irrecoverably lost his crown, if it had not been for his heroic son Edward, who gained the battle of Evesham, in which Leicester was killed.

Origin of
the House of
Commons
in England.

This ambitious head of his party, on purpose to attach the English to his person, whom he already governed as a sovereign, introduced two knights of each county, and some deputies from the boroughs, into parliament; the undoubted origin of the *House of Commons*, to which establishment Edward I. put the seal in 1295, on purpose to obtain subsidies.

CHAP. VI.

The House of Anjou established on the Throne of the Two Sicilies by Clement IV.—End of the Reign of St. Louis.

Conrad IV.
triumphs
over Inno-
cent IV.

WE now approach the period in which the House of Suabia was finally crushed by the persevering hatred of the popes. After the death of Frederic II. Innocent IV. immediately seized a part of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily; gave or sold that crown to the king of England, in favour of prince Edmund, one of his sons, and ruined the English for a conquest which did not succeed. The emperor Conrad IV. defeated the pontifical army;—he inherited

inherited the courage of his father, but died in the year 1254, being, it is said, likewise poisoned by the inhuman Manfredi, his natural brother.

William earl of Holland, whom the ecclesiastical faction had elected emperor, though the court of Rome had not been able to support him, from that time got possession of the throne; but his weakness increased that of the imperial dignity. Attempting to reduce the rebels of Frieland, he was surprised and killed in the year 1256. Richard, the brother of Henry III. king of England, by means of his money procured himself to be elected emperor; but when his treasures were exhausted his power vanished, and he quitted Germany, where both princes and people were made miserable by anarchy.

The kingdom of Naples and Sicily was in a particular manner exposed to a revolution from the intrigues of the court of Rome. Manfredi reigned there in quality of guardian to the young Conradine, son of the emperor Conrad. Though at first submissive in appearance to Innocent IV., he was very soon obliged to defend the royal privileges against the attacks of the pope, and the rupture brought on new wars. Alexander IV., who succeeded Innocent, according to custom, caused a crusade to be preached up for the advantage of the Holy See; but the crusaders being defeated, Manfredi openly supplanted his nephew, usurped the throne of the Two Sicilies, and was crowned at Palermo in the year 1258.

After Conrad William earl of Holland is emperor;

and after him Richard, the king of England's brother.

Manfredi usurps the kingdom of the Two Sicilies from his nephew Conradine.

If

The court
of Rome
offers that
crown to
St. Louis,
who refuses
it.

If the popes had added justice to policy, while they prosecuted an odious usurper, they would have protected a ward who was basely stript of his dominions; but Conradine being heir of the House of Suabia, lost those titles which were due to him by the rules of justice and humanity. Urban IV., the son of a mechanic in Champagne, made an offer of that kingdom to St. Louis, for one of the children of France, though it had been already given to Edmund; but that wise king examining his conscience, did not believe that he could accept the property of another. His brother Charles, count d'Anjou, whose principles were not so refined, very soon accepted it for himself; and though Urban died, the transaction was completed by his successor Clement IV., a gentleman of Languedoc.

1265.
Charles
count of
Anjou ac-
cepts it upon
shameful
conditions.

The conditions of that treaty unmasked the politics of the court of Rome, for the whole transaction tended to promote the interest of the pontificate. The ancient privileges of Sicily were annihilated; the prince engaged to pay an annual tribute of eight thousand ounces of gold, under pain of excommunication if the payment was deferred two months, and even deposition if the whole sum was not paid in six months after the appointed time. He likewise engaged himself never to accept the empire, Lombardy, nor Tuscany, whose union with Naples and Sicily had brought so many misfortunes upon the House of Suabia; to leave the ecclesiastical jurisdiction entire, with the freedom of appeal to the Holy See; not to allow
any

any of the clergy to be subject to taxation, or to secular tribunals, &c. The oath of fidelity bears, that he shall be obedient to his lord the pope; that he shall not form any alliance which may be injurious to him; and if he should be so unfortunate as to form such through ignorance, he shall renounce it upon receiving the first order. This was to accept the shadow of royalty.

What is perhaps more surprising, St. Louis, either from respect to the pope, or complaisance to his brother, approved this treaty, and permitted a crusade to be preached against Manfredi. The count d'Anjou very soon passed into Italy, where nothing could resist him, and Manfredi fell at the battle of Benevento. Conradine, who was still very young, attempted to recover his patrimony, and came into the country accompanied by the duke of Austria. Though excommunicated by Clement, who called him *a shoot of an accursed race*, he was received in Rome, where the Gibeline party prevailed; but king Charles having defeated and taken him prisoner in 1268, formed a tribunal for his trial, when he and the duke of Austria were condemned to lose their heads on a scaffold: a horrid sentence, which was executed at Naples.

Nothing can serve better to shew the influence of superstition and custom on the fate of nations, than the crusades preached up by order of Clement IV. A crusade in Spain against the Moors, whom he wished to exterminate; a crusade in Hungary, Bohemia, and other places,

1266. He takes possession of the kingdom.

1266. He takes possession of the kingdom.

Conradine cruelly treated.

Clement IV. causes a multitude of crusades to be preached up.

MODERN HISTORY.

against the Tartars, whose invasions were dreaded; a crusade in favour of the Teutonic knights against the pagans of Livonia, Prussia, and Courland, over whom they wanted to reign; a crusade in England against the barons, whom Henry III. could not subdue; a crusade in France and Italy, to take the kingdom of Naples and Sicily from the house of Suabia; and an universal crusade for the conquest of the Holy Land. These crusades were frequently in opposition to one another; the vow for one was absolved when the execution of another was thought of greater moment; indulgences were scattered at the will of the pope; the different countries were exhausted by the expences of war, and all Europe was set in a flame by the papal bulls. This practice had been a long time continued.

1270.
St. Louis
again led
away by
prejudice.

St. Louis, who made France happy by his prudent government, suffered himself to be led away a second time by the prejudices of the age in which he lived, and thought it a duty to leave his kingdom to go and fight once more against the infidels. The intention was so evidently pernicious, that even Joinville, who had been one of the most zealous promoters of the former crusade, assures us, that they who inspired the good king with the design, were accused of being guilty of a mortal sin; but Louis gave the reins to his own ideas with enthusiasm, and after having made great preparations, at last embarked. He went into Africa, where, it is said, he hoped to make the king of Tunis embrace the Christian religion, while, on the

His expedi-
tion and
death in
Africa.

FIFTH EPOCH A.

337

the contrary, the Mussulman threatened to murder the Christian captives. Diseases got into his army; the hero witnessed the death of one of his sons, saw another in danger, and died himself amidst the general consternation at the age of fifty-six.

In 1269, he published a famous *pragmatic*, which bears, that the ordinary patrons of benefices shall enjoy their rights; that the affairs relating to benefices shall be regulated by the common right; that the exactions by which the court of Rome *has unhappily ruined France, shall no more be levied, except for just and reasonable causes in cases of urgent necessity*, and with the express consent of the king and the church.

His law
against the
usurpations
of the court
of Rome.

The popes every where commanding as sovereigns, themselves making or causing wars to be made, having need of money to support their political views, arbitrarily levied taxes upon foreign churches; they assumed the nomination to benefices, which they bestowed on their own courtiers, and in some degree appropriated to themselves the wealth, which, from motives of religion, had been lavished upon all the churches of Europe. This abuse was carried so far in England, that, according to the remonstrances made by Henry's ambassadors at the council of Lyons, the Italian clergy had a revenue of sixty thousand merks, which was more than that of the crown. France was equally oppressed; and notwithstanding the *pragmatic of St. Louis*, she was more so after his reign, when schism brought the popes into the kingdom.

Kingdoms
ruined by
the extor-
tions of the
popes.

especially
England.

Right of appeal to the royal courts.

Private wars and duels prohibited.

Faults committed by St. Louis, owing to the prejudices of the age.

That prince deserved to be called a legislator. He firmly established the right of appeal to the royal courts, which was one of the best expedients for weakening the excessive power of the nobles. He absolutely prohibited private wars, which feudal anarchy had rendered lawful; proofs at law were substituted to duels; but disorders still prevailed a long time over legislation; and besides, these regulations extended no farther than over the provinces which belonged to the royal domain.

The prejudices of that canonised monarch, that is, the errors of his time, sometimes inspired him with too great lenity, at others with too much severity. He supported the Mendicant friars, Dominicans and Franciscans, who disturbed the university of Paris, where they affected independence, despised all episcopal authority, declaring themselves dependent only upon Rome; and whom the Roman pontiffs rendered triumphant, by oppressing their adversaries with excommunications. He favoured the inquisition, which by its illegal proceedings was so injurious to the peace of the people; which, from its origin, was so cruel, that it seemed to be insatiable of heretical blood; and, at last, he exposed the kingdom to be the victim of the crusades. With an eminent degree of virtue, what errors may we not fall into when reason is overpowered by prejudices! But how great was Louis in other respects, when he rose equally above vice and prejudices!

C H A P. VII.

End of the Crusades.—Rodolphus of Hapsburg Emperor.—Revolutions in Sicily, where the House of Arragon acquired an Establishment.

THE crusades were at last at an end; not that this madness did not frequently rekindle by the suggestions of the court of Rome, but European armies no more passed into Asia and Africa for the triumph of the cross. The Latin empire of Constantinople was already destroyed, and the emperor Baldwin II. of the house of Courtenai, whose dominion was confined almost within the limits of the limits of the city, had been dethroned and expelled in the year 1261, by Michael Paleologus, the tutor and oppressor of John Lascaris, to whom the Greek empire belonged, and whose eyes were put out by Paleologus.

End of the
crusades.

Michael
Paleologus
drives the
French from
Constanti-
nople.

The usurper on purpose to secure his dominion, artfully pretended to subject his church to that of Rome. The vanity and jealousy of the Greeks could not consent to it, and we shall see the same project frequently attempted, but always miscarry. That nation was so wedded to silly superstitions, that on purpose to put an end to a schism between two patriarchs, they threw the memorials of both parties into the fire, from a persuasion that the truth would be made known by a miracle. The fire consumed the whole, but experience could not inform the

Fruitless at-
tempt to re-
unite the
two church-
es.

Superstition
of the
Greeks.

minds of men who were equally vain and credulous. The empire of Constantinople fell gradually into decay, till totally overthrown by the Turks.

Anarchy in
Germany
after the
death of
Frederic II.

After the death of Frederic II. that of Germany fell a prey to anarchy. The emperor Richard, brother of the king of England, quitted a country in which he only held an empty title, and died in the year 1271, when an interregnum took place, which continued two years, and completed the destruction of the imperial domain. The tributary nations, Denmark, Poland, and Hungary, absolutely shook off the yoke; each of them taking possession of what lay most convenient for them; freeing themselves from quit-rents and every obligation by which they thought themselves under restraint, and leaving nothing to the emperors but their paternal inheritance.

Beginning
of the im-
perial law.

In these times of anarchy the political law of Germany began to emerge from confusion; we now find the college of electors, that of the princes, the deputies of the free cities, and the body of the *immediate nobility*, who hold of no prince but the emperor. From the beginning of the twelfth century, the three primates of the *Rhenish* province, so called, from its being situated on the banks of the Rhine (Treves, Mentz, and Cologne), jointly with the dukes enjoyed the famous right of *pretaxation*, choosing the emperor among themselves before he was proposed to the diet. This is the origin of the electoral dignity, which was more firmly established, because, in these times of disturb-

Origin of
the electors.

ance

ance and depredations, the other princes did not care to put themselves to considerable expence for confirming elections which they had no share in making. There was no public law in favour of the seven electors; but their privilege was founded upon custom and contingencies, nor have the greatest part of the ancient rights any other foundation.

Formerly taxes were paid to the Emperor by the imperial cities, from which they endeavoured to free themselves by taking advantage of the anarchy that prevailed at this time, and assumed the title of *free cities*, to distinguish them from a great number of new imperial cities which they admitted into their body; and thus the *Hanseatic* league was formed. In the year 1241, Lubeck entered into a league with its neighbours for the security of commerce, and four-score flourishing cities very soon joined this confederacy, which is reduced at present to Lubeck, Hamburg and Bremen.

They were at last tired of anarchy, and Gregory X. who succeeded Clement IV. having threatened to name an Emperor if they did not choose one, they elected Rodolphus, count of Hapsburg, the descendant of an old count of Alsace. He had served Ottocar, king of Bohemia, in quality of marshal of the court, or grand-master of the household. His want of power was the cause of his elevation, for the electors did not dissemble their desire of having an emperor, but not a master. This is the period from whence the lustre of the house of Austria is derived. Rodolphus I. by his abilities, sup-

Free cities
and imperial
cities.

Hanseatic
league.

1273.
Rodolphus
of Hapsburg
chosen em-
peror.

plied those resources which his domain could not furnish. We must observe here, that the revenue of his new dignity, which amounted to six millions of crowns in the time of Frederic Barbarossa, did not exceed a third of that sum, and is so diminished since, that an emperor has not more than twenty thousand florins of settled revenue.

Election of
Rodolphus
confirmed
by the pope;

In a general council held at Lyons in the year 1274, where there was an apparent re-union of the Greek and Roman churches, the election of Rodolphus was confirmed by the pope, who drew from him a fresh renunciation of the dominions of the countess Matilda. In a short time after, they quarrelled, when the emperor was excommunicated because he maintained his right of sovereignty over the Italian cities, and neglected to fulfil a vow of going to the crusade, that he might attend to the affairs of the empire.

who excom-
municated
him soon
after.

Rodolphus
makes war
against Ot-
tocar king of
Bohemia.

This excommunication did not prevent him from laying the foundation of the grandeur of his family. He summoned Ottocar, king of Bohemia, to restore the duchies of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, with which he had been invested without the consent of the electors; but Ottocar insultingly replied, *that he owed nothing to Rodolphus, to whom he had paid his wages*: upon which war was immediately declared, and the king of Bohemia fell in an action near Vienna. The emperor gave the investiture of Austria and some other duchies to his eldest son Albert, and at the same time, to his youngest son Rodolphus, the remains of the duchy of Suabia,

The impe-
rial family
enriched
with the
spoils of Ot-
tocar.

Suabia, but so dismembered, that the prince could not have the title of duke. The electors refused to choose Albert king of the Romans, saying, that the empire was not able to support two chiefs.

Several Italian cities, Lucca, Florence, Genoa, and Bologna, purchased, for small sums, that liberty which circumstances did not allow the emperor to wrest from them.

Liberty purchased by some Italian cities.

That spirit of faction and rebellion with which the Italians in general were animated, produced some atrocious scenes, and a fatal revolution in Sicily. Charles of Anjou had rendered himself odious by the severity of his government, and the licentiousness of his Provençals (he was count of Provence) continually increased the grievances of a seditious people. John de Procida, a gentleman whom they had stripped of his fortune, formed some schemes of revenge, which his activity and address made him capable of executing.

Conspiracy of Procida against Charles of Anjou.

Peter III. king of Arragon, and son-in-law of Manfredi, had some claims upon Sicily, and Procida easily prevailed with him to undertake the conquest. Pope Nicholas III. and Michael Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, entered into the conspiracy. This dangerous Italian, disguised in the habit of a cordelier, stirred up the people to join in a rebellion, which broke out by a massacre called the *Sicilian vespers*, when almost all the Frenchmen in Sicily were murdered in one day. The slaughter began at Palermo on Easter Monday, at the hour of vespers, to which

1282.
He persuades the king of Arragon and the pope to enter into his views.

Sicilian vespers, or massacre of the French.

which a Frenchman gave occasion by an insult offered to a woman. So dreadful was their rage, that they ripped up the bellies of the women whom they supposed with child by Frenchmen: even priests and monks committed similar barbarities; for superstition, as almost always happens in such circumstances, rendered the national hatred more atrocious.

Peter III.
king of Ar-
ragon,
makes him-
self master
of Sicily.

Peter III. with a considerable fleet, waited the issue upon the coast of Africa, and when he arrived, was acknowledged king by the Sicilians, notwithstanding the anathemas of a new pope, Martin IV. a Frenchman by birth, and a favourer of the family of France. Philip the Hardy, who succeeded St. Louis, sent an army to the assistance of king Charles; when the king of Arragon, on the verge of destruction, made an offer of deciding the dispute by duel in a neutral country; but this was only with a view of gaining time. Charles, who was more brave, but less artful, accepted the challenge, and came to the place appointed in Guienne, where he did not find his antagonist, who was said to have shewn himself there, but in disguise, only with a view of producing a proof of his having made his appearance. Charles very soon found himself unable to recover what he had lost; for Naples had revolted in his absence, and his son fell into the hands of the enemy.

1285.
Crusade
against that
prince.

Martin, observing that the king of Arragon despised the thunders of the church, gave his kingdom to the count de Valois, second son of king Philip, upon condition (as may be supposed)

posed) of doing homage, and paying tribute to the Holy See. He published a crusade for the execution of his bull, when a French army, equally desirous of indulgences and plunder, entered Spain, and committed every sort of outrage, without respecting either women or churches, but being almost destroyed by diseases, was forced to retreat. Philip the Hardy died at Perpignan, on his return from this unfortunate expedition, in the year 1286. Pope Martin died the year before, as did Charles of Anjou, and Peter III. Charles II. of Anjou, surnamed the Lamb, preserved Naples, but resigned Anjou and Maine to the count de Valois, to make him a recompence for the kingdom of Arragon, which he was obliged to renounce. Notwithstanding the opposition of the sovereign pontiffs, Sicily was formed into a separate kingdom for James, youngest son of Peter, and the eldest, Alphonsus III., was put in possession of Arragon.

Charles II.
of Anjou
preserves
only Naples.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

State of Spain during the Thirteenth Century.

AS Spain comes now to bear a part in the general affairs of Europe, we shall collect the principal events of its history in this place, before we enter upon a new epocha.

The Christians still divided.

That country was still divided at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the Christians, who ought to have been induced by their common interest to unite against the Moors, carried on the most cruel wars against each other. Sancho VII., king of Navarre, went to Morocco, in hope of marrying the daughter of the Miramolin; but was disappointed, and, at his return, found that the kings of Castile and Arragon had seized part of his dominions.

They join against the Moors.

Battle of Tolosa in 1212.

These three princes seeing the Moors upon the point of renewing their conquests, united, and gained the famous victory of Tolosa in the year 1212, where the loss of the enemy was computed by ocular witnesses to amount to almost two hundred thousand men, while they reduced that of the Christians to twenty-five. This is one of those cases in which we cannot trust to historical evidence; yet these witnesses do not mention the miraculous cross which was seen in the sky, according to later traditions, and which is still celebrated annually at Toledo, by a festival called the *Triumph of the cross*. The victory, though supposed not to be attended

tended with any miraculous circumstances, deserves to be celebrated, and would have been attended with very important consequences, if the military art had been better known, or if it had been possible to continue the army longer in the field; for armies generally dispersed almost immediately after an action. Peter II. king of Arragon, was killed next year at the battle of Muret, fighting for his brother-in-law the count De Toulouse, who had been the victim of the crusade against the Albigenes. Alphonso IX. king of Leon and Castile, likewise died in the year 1214, after having taken Alcantara from the Mussulmen.

It was not followed by any important consequences.

Disturbances were renewed, when to faction and civil war were added violent disputes with the secular clergy, in some countries where they refused to pay any share of the public burdens, as also with the Dominicans, who wanted to judge in criminal affairs. The inquisition was established, which rendered the manners of the times still more barbarous. We cannot fail to be deeply affected when we read of Ferdinand III., or Ferdinand the Holy, king of Castile, kindling with his own hands the flames destined to consume heretics.

Disputes with the clergy.

The inquisition established.

That prince had taken Cordova in the year 1236, which the Moors had possessed more than five hundred years, and afterwards made a fruitless attempt upon Grenada; but, however, the kings of Murcia and Grenada were so intimidated by his arms, that they acknowledged themselves his vassals. His grandeur and reputation were raised to the highest pitch, by the

St. Ferdinand (III.) makes himself master of Cordova and Seville.

the taking of Seville in the year 1248. Three hundred thousand Moors are said to have quitted the place, and were permitted to retire to the enemy, whose number they increased, when sound policy would have dispersed them among the Christian towns; but how could they have been tolerated by the inquisition?

Miracles
with which
the Spaniards
ornament their
histories.

Ferdinand
the Holy
protects a
king deposed
by Innocent
IV.

James I.
king of Ar-
ragon ex-
communi-
cated by the
same pope.

Some Spanish historians have embellished the victories of those times by prodigies, with which the honour of the nation might have dispensed. Sometimes the Christians were animated with the appearance of a splendid cross in the sky; sometimes by St. James at the head of the troops striking terror into the Infidels; sometimes the sun stopping, as if by the orders of another Joshua, to give time for cutting the vanquished in pieces. Kings however were not so blinded by credulity, as not to see the views of the court of Rome. In one sense, Ferdinand the Holy did more than St. Louis; he received Sancho II. king of Portugal, who was deposed by Innocent IV. into his dominions, and assisted him with his troops; but the bull of excommunication being published in his camp by the monks, his whole army took flight. This single anecdote is sufficient to shew the ignorance and superstition of the populace.

James I. king of Arragon, famous for his conquest of the islands of Minorca and Majorca, and by that of Valencia in 1238, caused the bishop of Girona's tongue to be cut out, whom he accused of having revealed his confession. The king was therefore excommunicated by Innocent IV.; and two legates, who were

were sent from Rome, refused to absolve him till he made a public confession of his guilt in presence of a council. That prince, who was so formidable to the Moors, gave his subjects a code to determine their law proceedings, which were too uncertain. Ferdinand the Holy was likewise a legislator: he instituted the royal council of Castille, and began the body of laws called *las partidas*, to which his successor Alphonso X. surnamed the Wise, put the last hand. On purpose to attach the nobles to the crown, who were but too frequently its enemies, Ferdinand created, or revived, some offices which were eminently distinguished by their privileges, such as the *adelantado* (viceroys), the *alferez-mayor* (great standard-bearer of the kingdom), *amirante* (or admiral), and the grand-master of the king's household. This was the policy of the kings of Cordova; and it has been remarked, that the Spaniards have in some degree borrowed their customs and ceremonial from the Moors. An observation still more deserving our attention, is, that the conquerors of Spain had been corrupted by pride, luxury, and effeminacy, by which empires are overthrown, especially when the foundations are undermined by discord.

The reign of Alphonso the Wise, from the year 1252 to 1284, deserves to be celebrated as a period remarkably favourable to the sciences. That prince founded several professorships in the university of Salamanca; in particular two of natural philosophy; he published the astronomical tables, known by the name of *Alphon-*
sine;

Laws of that prince and of Ferdinand the Holy.

The customs of that court borrowed from the Moors.

Reign of Alphonso X. the Wise, in Castille.

He cultivates and promotes science.

sine; he was sufficiently learned to perceive the falsity of the astronomical systems of his own time; which made him say, on supposition that such systems were well founded, that *if God had called him to his council, the world would have been more simple and more perfect*. We are indebted to him for the first history of Spain, in the Castillian language, in which he likewise gave orders, that all public acts should be written. The trivial expression, which has been made use of with regard to him, *that the study of the heavens had made him lose the earth*, is, according to M. de Voltaire, very ill applied: but, however, it is certain, that Alphonso brought misfortunes upon himself, if not by neglecting his affairs, at least by pursuing an object beyond his reach.

Being chosen emperor, he commits great faults, through ambition.

Being chosen emperor, in the year 1257, by a party that opposed Richard, he was more zealous to maintain his election, as he alledged he was the heir of the house of Suabia, in right of his mother. He debased the coin, oppressed the people with taxes, and excited a general dissatisfaction to gratify a fatal ambition. The adherents, whom he purchased at Rome and in Germany, procured him no solid advantage, while he exposed himself to the hatred and rebellion of his Castillian subjects. He fruitlessly protested against the election of Rodolphus of Hapsburg, at a council held at Lyons, in the year 1274: in vain did he go to solicit the pope, Gregory X., at Beaucaire; his absence only occasioned greater disturbances.

Some years after, his son Don Sancho, who had been declared his heir, to the prejudice of the princes of Cerda, his children by a former marriage, having quarrelled with him, raised a great part of the kingdom in rebellion against him; caused himself to be appointed regent by the states assembled at Valladolid, and reduced Alphonso to sue to the king of Morocco for his assistance. The unhappy father disinherited his rebellious son, appointing the princes of Cerda his heirs; and if they died without issue, the kings of France; but however, Sancho succeeded him. It was at this time that the kingdom of Sicily was disputed. Philip the Hardy proposed to conquer the kingdom of Arragon, which had been given to him by the pope; and to settle his nephews, the princes of Cerda, on the throne of Castille; two projects which he could not accomplish.

Rebellion
of his son.

He is suc-
ceeded by
that son
whom he
had disin-
herited.

In 1234 the kingdom of Navarre had devolved upon Theobald count of Champagne, who inherited in right of his mother, the last king's sister. Joanna, the heiress of that kingdom, by her marriage with Philip the Fair, in 1284, brought it into the family of France. The history of Spain is filled with confusion till the time when Ferdinand and Isabella united the two principal crowns.

The king-
dom of Na-
varre falls to
the family
of France.

C H A P. IX.

General Observations on the Fifth Epocha.

THERE is little room for general observations on this epocha: we have taken notice of the most remarkable changes in the course of the narration; and during this period there has been no fundamental alteration in the manners or ideas of the people. The attempts of the popes against crowned heads serve to shew the unreasonable opinions which always prevailed in the court of Rome; and that the means which they employed to accomplish their ends were not less extraordinary.

Order of St. Francis, in which mendicity is prescribed.

Under the pontificate of Innocent III., the church approved of the order of St. Francis d'Assisa; a man of fervent piety, and excessive simplicity; who, taking these words of the gospel literally, *take neither gold nor silver nor scrip for your journey, neither sandals nor staff*; and being persuaded, that Christian perfection consisted in possessing nothing, threw away even his scrip and staff, and collected some disciples; whose absolute poverty seemed an evident proof of apostleship. By their rule they were obliged to beg their bread, and to receive no money. So rapid was the progress of this institution, that at the first general chapter, which was held in the year 1219, the number of brothers exceeded five thousand. Two years after, the founder

founder established a new order, to satisfy the devotion of an infinite number of people of both sexes; who, without leaving their homes, wanted to partake of the merits of the new apostles.

It may be observed, that Peter Valdo, a merchant of Lyons, had nearly the same ideas with St. Francis; but from his not shewing the same submission to the Holy See, was looked upon as a patriarch of the heretical Albigenes.

Peter Valdo
before St.
Francis,

The mendicity of the *Brother Minors* (that was the name which was given them) was attended with such success, that it excited the emulation of St. Dominic, a Spaniard, missionary of the Albigenes, and founder of the order of *preaching friars*; who from being at first regular canons, very soon became Mendicants. They had not so much credit perhaps among the people; but they had more at Rome, in courts and in schools; and were rendered particularly formidable by having the inquisition under their management.

St. Domi-
nic like-
wise found
a Mendicant
order.

All the friars of these orders, upon whom privileges had been heaped by the sovereign pontiffs, under the immediate government of the Holy See, and freed from the authority of the bishops, even in the discharge of the duties of the holy ministry, were the common instruments employed by the court of Rome, who made them fly from one country to another at no expence, charged with its orders, and zealous to execute them. Therefore, in their obstinate disputes with the secular clergy, but principally with the doctors of Paris, they were supported by the

The Men-
dicants were
useful to the
popes who
protected
them.

whole pontifical power, and bulls and excommunications were never wanting for their service.

Natural inconveniences of this establishment.

If they, beyond measure, exalted this power, from whence they derived so great influence; if, after they had combated their adversaries, they became jealous rivals of each other; if their new devotions, and scholastic systems, were sometimes sources of superstition and discord; and if relaxation, cabals, self-interest, intrigue, and idleness succeeded to the primitive fervour and labours of an edifying and disinterested zeal; it is what a little reflection upon past experience and human nature might have easily foreseen. Mendicity alone opened a way to the greatest abuses; and what probability was there that friars exposed to all kinds of company could preserve manners quite contrary to every propensity of nature? (See *Fleury, Huitieme Discours sur l'Histoire ecclesiastique.*)

Fanatics among the Franciscans.

An overstrained perfection almost always degenerates into fanaticism. The Franciscans had very soon a sect of *spiritualists* among them; who, on account of the form of their cowls, the stuff and colour of their habits, but more particularly the ridiculous opinion, that the property of their food was vested in the Holy See, by which they formed a schism in the order, caused one another to be anathematized, and some to be burnt as heretics. We shall see this folly furnishing weapons to an emperor against a pope.

Singular contradictions from

In the year 1212, a council held at Paris gave orders, that friars upon a journey should be provided

provided with necessaries, that they might not be obliged to beg, *to the dishonour of the Lord and their order*: at that very time St. Francis increased the number of voluntary Mendicants. In 1215 the general council of the Lateran prohibited the founding of new orders, lest the too great variety should introduce confusion into the church. Innocent III., who held that council, had established the brother minors and the preachers; the Carmelites, Augustines, and other mendicant orders made their appearance almost immediately after. In 1274, the general council of Lyons suppressed all these orders which had been founded since the time of Innocent III., but tolerated the Carmelites and Augustines until they should be regulated anew. The order of the Trinity, and that of Mercy, respectable from their consecrating themselves to the service of the unfortunate; the orders of Servites, of the Holy Cross, of the Celestines, &c. however, sprung up and maintained themselves, notwithstanding the canons; and the succeeding ages produced a number of others. These contradictions do not surprise those people who seek for the cause in the human heart, and in the powers of prejudice.

the multiplying of orders.

William of St. Amour, a doctor of Paris, published his celebrated book against the mendicant orders, entitled *Des Perils des derniers Temps* (of the Perils of the last Times), in which he represents them as the Pharisees of the gospel, to be known by the following marks: *They love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues; and greetings in the markets, and to*

A work against the Mendicants and abusive disputes.

be called of men Rabbi, Rabbi. This invective was refuted and condemned, and the doctor banished; but however, his associates were not dispirited, and both parties railed against each other with violence; abuse being frequently the best arguments in the dispute. In this manner did they continue to argue for several ages, without the truth being in the least cleared up; till doubt at last produced true science, manners were polished by reason, and the ancient rust of pedantry fell before indelible ridicule.

Reproaches
made against
the inquisition.

I shall not insist upon the effects of the inquisition, which was first established in France, where it did not long subsist, and afterwards in Italy and Spain, where it still continues. The punishing private errors, as the most enormous crimes; changing accusation, the most destructive of the peace of society, into a duty; the prosecuting citizens, who were obedient to the laws, both civil and natural, only upon simple suspicion, or frivolous informations, and thereby carrying distrust and alarms into society, and even into the bosom of private families; the disgracing a religion of charity by torments, and exciting the fanaticism of sectaries, by the violent means which were employed against the sects; are charges with which this tribunal has been reproached thousands of times, and with all the powers of eloquence. It is sufficient to observe, that ignorance must be the natural consequence. The reading of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue was severely prohibited, and of course withheld from almost all the faithful. If opinions or truths, whether theological or
philoso-

Ignorance,
the natural
consequence.

philosophical, did not perfectly agree with the systems of the inquisitors, they became heretical, erroneous, or at least to be suspected of heresy; the authors were exposed to persecution, and mankind afraid to allow genius to soar.

The Dominicans exercising such a dreadful authority almost universally, their particular sentiments could not fail to have great influence; it therefore seems surprising that an oath should have been exacted by the Sorbonne, and even the council of Castile, to defend the immaculate conception of the virgin, though St. Bernard disapproved of the festival instituted by the church of Lyons to commemorate it, and the Romish church has never admitted it among the number of its tenets.

The opinions of the Dominicans acquire greater credit by it.

Universities were formed and increased, and people from all parts of Europe flocked to Paris; but that was not the place to find proper studies, where almost nothing was attended to but the vain subtilties of scholastic philosophy. Their principal learning consisted in disputing about words, without knowing things; in entangling reason in a labyrinth of syllogisms which could not give birth to one clear idea, and making a display of authorities frequently absurd, and almost always misunderstood as irrefragable proofs.

Improper studies in the universities.

In the year 1210 the metaphysics of Aristotle were condemned to the flames by the council of Paris, because to them was ascribed the origin of I know not what heresy; however, Aristotle became more than ever not only the oracle of

Aristotle condemned, and then becomes an oracle.

the philosophers, but likewise of theologians, who quoted him oftener than the holy fathers; from whence proceeded those gloomy reveries which exposed the doctrines of the church, and engendered schisms. In the darkness of ignorance men walk at random, and cannot keep in a just medium. Studies ought to be encouraged, but it is the duty of the universities to set an example of obedience to the laws. The exorbitant privileges which had been lavished upon them, made them sometimes formidable to the government; for the scholars not being liable to be tried by the secular tribunals, that numerous body of unruly youths, under no restraint, committed the most enormous excesses with impunity. The masters and doctors, who were less anxious for the public good than to preserve their pernicious privileges, did not fail to obstruct the course of justice when it would have laid hold on the guilty; which was a source of disorders at Paris and elsewhere.

The universities enjoyed some dangerous privileges.

The popes wanting to rule them increased the disturbances.

The popes at the same time wanting to rule these literary bodies, at one time protecting them against the civil power; at another, galling them by pontifical despotism, occasioned disturbances among them, which were equally injurious to the cause of truth, and the laws of the state; and thus those respectable establishments, which ought to have rescued Europe from barbarism, for a long time partook of the general contagion.

The *prevot* of Paris sacrificed to the doctors.

What happened at Paris in the year 1304 deserves to be particularly mentioned. The *prevot* of the town having caused a scholar to be

be hanged, the judge of the bishop's court, by a special mandate, commanded all the priests to go to his house in procession, and to throw stones against it, exclaiming, *Begone, cursed Satan, confess thy sin; do honour to our holy mother church, whom thou hast wounded in her privileges, or may thy fate be such as the fate of Dathan and Abiram, whom the earth swallowed up alive!* All the schools were shut up, and the magistrate obliged to make satisfaction to the university, to do penance, and seek absolution at Rome.

Albert the Great, and his disciple St. Thomas Aquinas, both flourished at this period. The twenty-one volumes in folio of the first are forgotten, but the second continues an oracle in theology. While we admire his penetration and his genius for analysing, let us regret his having followed the torrent of subtle disputatious questions.

Albert the
Great, and
St. Thomas
Aquinas.

Jacobus de Voragine, another Dominican, and archbishop of Genoa, published a collection of the lives of saints, stuffed with fables, which long afforded food for superstition, but is at last fallen into contempt. It was called the *golden legend*.

The golden
legend.

Roger Bacon, an English Franciscan friar, was an astronomer, mathematician, natural philosopher, chymist, physician, and mechanic, the inventor of burning-glasses, the *camera obscura*, &c.; an excellent genius at a time when men of the most eminent abilities were only sophists, and therefore was accused of being a magician.

Roger
Bacon.

France

Poets in
France,

France already reckoned a number of poets. Fauchet gives an account of a hundred and twenty-seven who wrote before the end of the thirteenth century, and extracts of their works are to be found in his *Recueil de la Langue et Poesie Françoise*. What sort of poets must they have been, since there are so few good even at this day? It was a great deal that the dawn of genius penetrated through a long night of barbarism.

CHRO-

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF

Some of the PRINCIPAL EVENTS in
MODERN HISTORY down to the Fif-
teenth Century.

THIS Table was thought necessary, 1. Because, having continued the Roman History down to the conquests of the Arabians, I anticipated several important events which were posterior to the epocha of Clovis. 2. Because, the first ages of modern history present us with such a confused mixture of transactions, that it is impossible to order the narration in such a manner, as sufficiently to mark their relation to each other in point of time. I confine myself to matters of the greatest importance.

CLOVIS defeats the Romans near Soissons, and seizes what remained to them in Gaul. This is properly the commencement of the French monarchy. The **FRANCS** had before been established at Tournay and its environs; but we scarcely know any thing of their first kings. The new conqueror turned Christian in 496, after his victory at **TOLBIAC** over the Germans.

486.

ALARIC king of the **VISIGOTHS**, vanquished at Vouillé by Clovis. The conqueror seizes that kingdom,

507.

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- kingdom, of which Toulouse was the capital; but Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, retakes part of it by his generals.
511. Death of CLOVIS. The monarchy divided among his four sons. These partitions were long fatal. Civil wars succeeded each other almost without interruption.
526. Death of THEODORIC the Great. He had governed Italy like a great king, while the Roman emperors made themselves contemptible. The emperor JUSTIN died the year following, and was succeeded by JUSTINIAN, whose reputation has exceeded his merit.
533. Conquest of Africa from the VANDALS by BELISARIUS. This general of JUSTINIAN might have re-established the empire, had its foundations been less ruinous. He only served a depraved and ungrateful court.
534. End of the kingdom of the BURGUNDIANS. The French kings shared this conquest, which considerably augmented that monarchy.
537. Expedition of BELISARIUS into Italy. He obliged VITIGES, king of the Ostrogoths, to surrender in Ravenna, and seemed to have restored Italy to the empire in 540, but it could not be kept long. TOTILA treading in the steps of THEODORIC, soon obliged the Romans to retire.
553. NARSES the Eunuch, sent by Justinian, with a strong army defeats TOTILA. Italy wrested from the Goths, who a few years after were succeeded by other Barbarians.
568. JUSTIN II. successor of Justinian. In his reign, the kingdom of the LOMBARDS was established in Italy by ALBOINUS. The empire preserved only the EXARCHATE of Ravenna in that country.
575. Civil wars begun in France by the queens FREDEGONDA and BRUNEHAUT. Never were seen scenes of more horror. These were less owing to the ambition of those two women, than to the general barbarity

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barbarity of manners, and superstitious notions, which turned the influence of religion to sinister purposes.

ST. GREGORY surnamed the Great. This 590.

pontificate is celebrated for the virtues of the pontiff, or his great credit in the courts. He first sent missionaries into Great Britain, which had been subdued by the Saxons and Angles about a century before.

PHOCAS dethrones the emperor **MAURITIUS**. 602.

Remarkable revolution attended with horrid circumstances. **HERACLIUS**, who dethroned Phocas in 610, vanquished the Persians; but he increased the miseries of the empire by ill-government, and new theological dissensions.

HEGIRA of the Mahometans, or the flight of 622.

MAHOMET. This formidable impostor, though obliged to fly from Mecca, in a short time subjected the Arabians or Saracens to his religion and his dominion, whom he inspired with an equal spirit of fanaticism and conquest. The **CALIFS**, his successors, in a very few years subdued Syria, Persia, and Africa.

CONSTANTINOPLE besieged by the **SARACENS**. 672.

We find the capital of the empire already threatened. It was saved by the sea fire, an invention of Callinicus; but the provinces were subdued on every side.

WAMBA, king of Spain, dethroned by a council 681.

of Toledo, under the pretence of penance. The bishops domineer in Spain, enact laws, and give an example of an unheard-of attack upon the sovereign.

SPAIN conquered by the **SARACENS** of Africa, 711.

called **MOORS**. **PELAGIO**, a hero of the blood royal of the Visigoths, retired into the Asturias, and there founded a petty Christian kingdom; whence afterwards issued enemies formidable to the conquerors.

PEPIN

714. PEPIN HERISTEL dies. He had reigned gloriously in France with the title of Mayor of the Palace, for the IDLE kings had no power, and the mayors were vested with the whole authority. CHARLES MARTEL, who succeeded his father Pepin, still exceeded him by his exploits.
725. LEO the ISAURIAN emperor. He endeavoured to destroy the worship of images. This new heresy of the ICONOCLASTS was the cause of fatal dissensions, stirring up the popes and the people against the empire.
732. CHARLES MARTEL defeats the SARACENS near Tours. After the conquest of Spain, they had invaded France, which they would perhaps have subjected to the Koran, had not the French hero cut them in pieces. Their civil wars afterwards contributed to the preservation of the Christian states.
752. PEPIN, son of Charles Martel, dethrones the race of Clovis, or the MEROVINGIANS. This revolution was in part effected by the policy of pope ZACHARY. The popes wanting to shake off their subjection to the empire of Constantinople, and rid themselves of the uneasiness given them by the Lombard kings, reckoned on the assistance of France. Pepin passed twice into Italy, and forced Aistulf, king of the Lombards, to cede some places to the Holy See.
768. Death of PEPIN, who leaves the crown to his two sons CHARLEMAGNE and CARLOMAN. The first reigned alone in 771. His expeditions, his laws, and his government, form one of the most memorable epochas in history.
774. End of the kingdom of the LOMBARDS. Pope Adrian had called in Charlemagne against king DIDIER, who was taken in Pavia his capital. This kingdom was incorporated with the French monarchy.

ABDERA.

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ABDERAMAN or **ALMANZOR**, an Arabian prince, wrests Spain from the Califs, and reigns gloriously with the title of King.

778.

COUNCIL OF FRANCFORT, celebrated for the condemnation of the second council of Nice, where the worship of images had been restored in 787, under the empress Irené. Charlemagne preposterously acted the theologian in this affair, where even the meaning of the Nicene decree was not understood.

794.

Pope LEO III. crowns Charlemagne **EMPEROR**.

800.

The Italians thought they restored the empire of the West, of which not a trace remained. The temporal powers of the popes, the foundation of which had been laid by Pepin, was then more firmly established. Nicephorus having dethroned Irené, came to an accommodation with Charlemagne. The limits of the two empires were settled.

HAROUN-AL-RASCHID, the Calif, who cultivated and promoted the arts and sciences, presents Charlemagne with the sovereignty of Jerusalem, as a token of his esteem. One of the most remarkable revolutions recorded in the history of the human mind is, the profound ignorance into which Europe fell while the Arabians were making progress in knowledge.

807.

Death of CHARLEMAGNE. His empire comprehended France, Germany, Italy, Catalonia, &c. His son **LOUIS** the **DEBONNAIRE**, was the sport of factions, which he endeavoured to calm only by a pusillanimous devotion.

814.

First incursions of the NORMANS or DANES. These pirates issuing from the coasts of the Baltic, were long a scourge to Europe, and produced great revolutions.

820.

EGBERT, king of Wessex, who had been bred at the court of Charlemagne, united under his dominion the seven petty kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, which are called the **HEPTARCHY**.

827.

LOUIS,

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830. LOUIS, emperor, dethroned by his rebellious sons, or rather by the bishops, who made him do public penance, in order to deprive him of the crown. He was restored, but did not learn the art of reigning.
840. After the death of Louis, his three sons LOTHAIRE, LOUIS the GERMANIC, and CHARLES the BALD, share the monarchy. A new source of civil wars.
845. The NORMANS advanced to the neighbourhood of Paris. Their incursions became perpetually more dreadful. King Charles the Bald gave them money to depart; that is, gave them a desire to return, and was incapable of resisting them. England laid waste as well as France.
860. Divorce of LOTHAIRE, king of Lorraine. This was the subject of his famous dispute with pope Nicholas I. who set an example of the most violent measures against crowned heads. We shall find, in the sequel, the quarrels with Rome daily grow more frequent, and the popes triumph over the kings. Nicholas excommunicated the patriarch PHOTIUS, which gave rise to the schism of the Greeks.
871. Reign of the great ALFRED in England. He was the wonder of his age, as well as CHARLEMAGNE.
877. Death of CHARLES THE BALD, who had been made emperor. His reign may be looked upon as the epocha of the FEUDAL GOVERNMENT, which long perpetuated anarchy and violence.
885. Siege of Paris by the NORMANS. The city held out two years. CHARLES THE FAT made a shameful peace with the Barbarians. In 912, CHARLES THE SIMPLE was obliged to cede to them the country, which from their own name they called Normandy, where their chief, ROLLO, reigned gloriously with the title of Duke.
910. Reformation of CLUGNY. At this period, the monks, whose strictness of life entitled them to respect, became

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became very powerful, because the clergy were excessively corrupted, and the people extremely stupid. **CONRAD**, duke of Franconia, elected king by the Germans. Thus the house of France lost Germany. Charles the Simple, on whom that crown ought to have devolved, was only the phantom of a king. The French nobility, without difficulty, stripped him of his possessions. He died in prison (929).

912.

RAMIREZ II., king of Leon and the Asturias; defeats the Moors at Simencas; a celebrated battle. The Moors of Spain were distracted with civil wars, of which the Christians took advantage, though disunited among themselves. The progress of the latter was slow, but their courage increased with their hopes.

938.

OTHO the **GREAT**, crowned king of Italy, and emperor the year following. He was son of **HENRY** the **FOWLER**, duke of Saxony, who had been elected king of Germany. **JOHN XII.** called Otho into Italy against Berengerius, who tyrannised over that country. The empire was given to the Germans, nearly in the same manner that it had been bestowed upon the French. Soon after the pope prevailed upon the Romans to revolt, but Otho forced them to return to their duty. Under the Othos the German clergy acquired great power; and fiefs were made hereditary.

961.

For some time the popes had been infected with the general depravation of manners, which they increased by their example. Ignorance, superstition, vices among churchmen, and enormities of all kinds, were grown to the greatest height. Yet in this century, Christianity was established in Sweden, Poland, Russia, Hungary, &c.

HUGH CAPE T acquires the crown of France, and the **CARLOVINGIAN** line was dethroned. This family, like the first, had fallen into contempt

987.

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- through the weakness of the princes. The present royal family is descended from Hugh Capet, whose grandfather and grand-uncle had already borne the title of kings.
998. ROBERT, son of Hugh Capet, excommunicated by Gregory V. This excommunication obliged him to separate from his wife.
1017. The DANES under CANUTE king of Denmark, subdued England. Canute reigned there like a great prince. The revolution had been begun by his father SWEYN.
1029. The city of Averfa in Italy, built by adventurers from Normandy. These NORMAN gentlemen, animated by the ancient spirit of their nation, founded the kingdom of the Two SICILIES, which was the fruit of their ambition and courage.
1033. PEACE OF GOD published by the bishops under Henry I. king of France. This absurd institution proves to what excess the disorders and calamities of the public were carried, as well as the want of power to remedy them.
1035. Death of SANCHO, king of Navarre, surnamed the Great, because he made some conquests from the Moors. He divided his dominions among his four sons. Thus were there four Christian kingdoms in Spain, LEON, NAVARRE, CASTILE, and ARAGON. A source of civil wars.
1054. SCHISM of the GREEKS completed by the patriarch CERULARIUS, whom LEO IX. treated too haughtily. The court of Constantinople was then a theatre of horrid crimes. At that time lived the empress ZOÉ.
1058. The NORMANS established in Italy wrest SICILY from the Saracens: that heroic family was constantly increasing its power.
1066. WILLIAM duke of Normandy conquers ENGLAND. He subdued the nation entirely by a cruel policy.

HILDE-

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

3419

HILDEBRAND, pope under the name of **GREGORY VII.** No pontificate is more celebrated for the enterprises carried on against crowned heads: A system of universal monarchy was formed by that pontiff, who was more successful in shaking the constitution of kingdoms, than in reforming the manners of the clergy. 1073.

The emperor **HENRY IV.** (of the House of Franconia) excommunicated and deposed by Gregory VII. At that time began the war between the priesthood and the empire, the circumstances of which strike the reader with horror. The pope was supported by the Normans, who were become the vassals of the Holy See, and by the famous countess Matilda, who made to him a donation of all her dominions. He died in 1085. His successors imitated his conduct. 1076.

The **CID** takes Toledo from the Moors. The Christians still made progress in Spain. The kingdom of **PORTUGAL** began in 1132. 1085.

CRUSADE preached by **URBAN II.** at the council of Clermont; where he excommunicated Philip I. king of France. The crusades perfectly shew the reigning spirit of that age. This ended with the taking of Jerusalem in 1099; a conquest which was attended with very little advantage. 1095.

HENRY IV. dethroned by his son **HENRY V.**, whom **PASCAL II.** had instigated to revolt. This was the sequel of the quarrel with Gregory VII., which the new emperor notwithstanding continued. In 1112 Pascal broke an agreement he had made with regard to investitures, and the war was re-kindled. 1105.

War between **LOUIS the FAT**, king of France, and **HENRY I.** king of England and duke of Normandy. This is the beginning of the long wars between the two kingdoms; they were unavoidable when the king of England possessed a great fief in France. 1115.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

1122. End of the war of **INVESTITURES**, by an extraordinary accommodation between **Calixtus II.** and **Henry V.**; but the custom of stirring up the subjects by the excommunication of the sovereigns was for a long time after the source of troubles in Europe.
1130. Schism of **ANACLETUS**, who disputed the papacy with **INNOCENT II.** The celebrated **St. BERNARD** caused Innocent to be acknowledged. This affair gave occasion to wars. Innocent being taken prisoner by **ROGER** king of **SICILY**, confirmed to him the title of King, which Anacletus had bestowed.
1140. **ABELARD** condemned at Sens. **Berengerius** had been condemned in France, and at Rome, about the middle of the former century. We remark this as the epocha of false **LOGIC**, whence sprung so many errors and pernicious disputes. Study was revived, and men were acquainted with no better. **ARNOLD OF BRESCIA** propagated new doctrines from a principle of fanaticism. He was persecuted by **Adrian IV.**, and burnt in 1155. Thus the heresies were renewed, which afterwards became more dangerous as the disputes grew warmer.
1146. Second **CRUSADE** preached by **St. Bernard**. **LOUIS** the **YOUNG** and **CONRAD III.**, first emperor of the House of **Suabia**, crossed into Asia with great armies. Being defeated by the **Turks** one after the other, they returned in 1149.
1156. **FREDERIC BARBAROSSA** emperor. He made several fruitless attempts to subdue the spirit of liberty and revolt, which was spreading in **Lombardy**. In 1176 the people of **Milan** defeated the emperor. At this period the people universally emerged from a state of servitude by purchasing **FRANCHISES**. **MUNICIPAL** government was established in the cities; the burghers acquired sentiment and industry. **VENICE**, already powerful by its commerce,

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commerce, supported Adrian IV. against the emperor Frederic.

Beginning of the quarrel between HENRY II. king of England, and THOMAS BECKET (St. Thomas of Canterbury), on the subject of ecclesiastical immunities. Henry was the most powerful prince in Europe; he possessed several provinces of France: this quarrel made him unhappy.

1164.

Third CRUSADE against SALADINE, who had taken Jerusalem a little before. In this expedition died Frederic BARBAROSSA. PHILIP AUGUSTUS, and RICHARD king of England, engaged in it with little success. They gained no conquest but the town of ACRE. Richard, at his return in 1192, was kept prisoner by the emperor Henry VI. Philip Augustus, who had returned to Europe before him, took advantage of his absence to do him all the mischief he could.

1188.

The emperor HENRY VI., master of SICILY, the heiress of which he had married. This was the principal cause of the hatred subsisting between the popes and the House of Suabia, which they could not bear to have any footing in Italy.

1196.

Beginning of the pontificate of INNOCENT III., who in some respects surpassed Gregory VII. He began with putting France under an interdict, on account of the king's divorce.

1198.

PHILIP AUGUSTUS confiscates the provinces which JOHN king of England possessed in France. This confiscation was carried into execution by force of arms. John was equally mean-spirited and violent.

1202.

CONSTANTINOPLE taken in the fourth CRUSADE. Baldwin earl of Flanders was at its head, and emperor. The crusaders always had views upon that city, while they pretended only to arm against infidels. VENICE had a great share in that expedition, by which she gained the Morea and Candia.

1204.

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1208. Crusade against the ALBIGENSES. RAIMOND count de Toulouse was the victim of that horrid expedition. To complete those scenes of barbarity, the INQUISITION then took its rise.
1212. INNOCENT III. having quarrelled with JOHN king of ENGLAND, made a gift of that kingdom to Philip Augustus; but John doing homage for it to the pope, he then changed his measures. The English barons revolted, and, in 1215, obliged the king to sign the GREAT CHARTER.
1215. Beginning of the MENDICANT ORDERS. This establishment of Innocent III. had great influence on the affairs of the church.—The UNIVERSITIES were established. ARISTOTLE's metaphysics forbidden to be read. The study of the ROMAN LAW paved the way for a revolution in polity.
1223. Death of PHILIP AUGUSTUS. His policy had augmented the power of the crown.
1227. GREGORY IX. excommunicates FREDERIC II. This emperor was the perpetual object of the enterprises of the Romish court, which was desirous of ruining the House of Suabia. He recovered Jerusalem in consequence of a treaty with the sultan of Egypt; yet he was again excommunicated. GENGHIZ-KHAN, who died a little before, had established the empire of the MONGOL Tartars in Asia, and a great part of China.
1236. FERDINAND the Holy, king of Castile, took CORDOVA from the Moors; he afterwards made himself master of Seville. JAMES I., king of Aragon, likewise took from them Valentia. These two princes were legislators. The reign of ALPHONSO the WISE, king of Castile, in 1252, is not less celebrated. The sciences began to revive in Spain. In 1234 the kingdom of Navarre had devolved on the count of Champagne.
1245. General council of Lyons, where FREDERIC was deposed by INNOCENT IV. Some years before Gregory IX. had made an offer to St. LOUIS of conferring

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- conferring the empire on his brother, which the virtuous monarch refused. The emperor supported himself by his courage; he died in 1250. The imperial dignity was destroyed by the continual quarrels with Rome from the time of Henry IV.
- Crusade of St. Louis.** Notwithstanding his heroic virtue, he was taken prisoner in Egypt, and met with no success in Palestine.
- End of the CALIFATE.** The Califs had long possessed little more than a high-sounding title without power. Their capital was taken by a grandson of Genghiz-Khan.
- The Latins lost **CONSTANTINOPLE**, which was taken from them by **MICHAEL PAELOGUS**. This empire was reduced to little more than that single city.
- HENRY III.**, king of England, deposed by the nobles. St. Louis had been chosen arbiter between that king and the rebels; but the earl of Leicester eluded his sentence. At this period the House of **COMMONS** was first established.
- CHARLES of ANJOU** dethrones **CONRADIN**, king of **NAPLES** and **SICILY**. Conradin was grandson of Frederic II.; and Clement IV. had granted his kingdom to the French prince, who caused him to be beheaded.
- Death of St. Louis** in Africa, to which he had gone on a crusade from a principle of devotion.
- RODOLPH of HAPSBURGH** emperor. This is the origin of the greatness of the House of **AUSTRIA**. He deprived **Ottocar**, king of **Bohemia**, of his dominions; and gave **Austria** to one of his sons.
- SICILIAN VESPER.** All the French were massacred in Sicily. Peter III., king of **ARRAGON**, seized upon that kingdom, which was separated from the Neapolitan.
- EDWARD I.**, king of England, receives the homage of **SCOTLAND**, which was effected by violence.

1201

1248.

1258.

1261.

1264.

1266.

1270.

1273.

1282.

1293.

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- lence, united with ambitious policy. PHILIP THE FAIR confiscated and took Guienne from that prince.
1294. Pontificate of BONIFACE VIII. He trod in the steps of Innocent III. His disputes with PHILIP THE FAIR form an epocha.
1300. OTHMAN establishes the empire of the Turks, which rapidly increased under his successors. The House of OTHMAN is descended from him.
1302. STATES GENERAL in France, to which the COMMONS were summoned for the first time. The national assembly declared against the enormous pretensions of the pope, who had excommunicated the king, and wanted to depose him.
1306. ROBERT BRUCE delivers Scotland from the yoke of England.
1308. Beginning of the republic of SWITZERLAND, which was oppressed by the House of Austria. Three cantons set the example of that liberty which they have gained by heroic valour.
1309. CLEMENT V. transfers the Holy See to Avignon, where seven French popes reigned.
1314. Death of PHILIP THE FAIR. He strengthened the throne, but was guilty of many acts of injustice. Under this reign the PARLIAMENT was fixed at Paris.
1321. DANTÉ dies. After him PETRARCH and BOCACE brought the Italian language to perfection. The other nations were without taste.
1323. The emperor LOUIS OF BAVARIA excommunicated by John XXII. This great quarrel revived the former scandals.
1326. EDWARD II. dethroned in England. Succeeded by his son the famous EDWARD III.
1328. PHILIP DE VALOIS, king of France. Edward III. was the nearest relation to the late king, but in the female line. Happily the SALIC law triumphed. The two competitors were soon at war.

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- war. The English monarch gained the sea-fight of SLUYS in 1340, and the battle of CRESSY in 1346; after which he took Calais.
- Battle of POITIERS, where John king of France was taken prisoner by the English. France, especially Paris, became the theatre of horrible disorders. 1356.
- The same year the emperor CHARLES IV. established seven ELECTORS by his *golden bull*.
- PETER the CRUEL, king of Castile, dethroned by Henry DE TRANSTAMARA, his natural brother. 1368.
- CHARLES V. (the Wise) drives the English out of France by help of his generals, especially DU GUESCLIN.—This age is the most brilliant epocha of CHIVALRY. 1370.
- Grand schism of the WEST after the death of Gregory XI., which for forty years brought public calamities on religion and the states. 1379.
- JOAN queen of Naples deposed by Urban VI. She gave her kingdom to the duke of Anjou, who could not establish himself in it, Duzazzo having seized upon it. 1380.
- The same year died CHARLES V., one of the greatest kings France ever had. It never was so unhappy as under the long reign of his son CHARLES VI.
- JAGELLON or ULADISLAS V., king of POLAND, to which he united the great duchy of Lithuania, and the other dominions that belonged to him. 1386.
- BAJAZET, son of Amurath, sultan of the Turks, lays siege to Constantinople. A treaty was made, and he retired. But this dreadful enemy of the Christians would afterwards have destroyed the Greek empire, had not a rival been raised up against him like TAMERLANE, who vanquished him in 1402. 1390.
- Battle of NICOPOLIS, in which SIGISMOND, king of Hungary, was defeated by the Turks. This is the same Sigismund who was emperor in 1410, and 1396.

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and who caused the famous council of Constance to be assembled, in which an end was put to the great schism.

1399.

RICHARD II. dethroned in England by HENRY IV., whose son Henry V. became so formidable to France by the wars which he raised against it.



END OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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As the principal powers which made a figure in the general history of the first ages, and which form almost the whole political history of Europe, are the Popes, the Kings of France, the Emperors of Germany, and the Kings of England, the following Chronological Tables may be of particular utility.

[The numeral characters mark the year of death.]

THE MOST DISTINGUISHED POPES,

From the time of Gregory II. to the Great Schism.

GREGORY II. called Charles Martel into Italy.	731.
GREGORY III. followed the same plan of policy.	741.
ZACHARY determined that Pepin ought to be king.	752.
STEPHEN III. obtained from Pepin a gift of the Exarchate.	757.
PAUL I. quarrelled with Didier king of the Lombards.	767.
STEPHEN IV. called in Charlemagne against the Lombards.	772.
ADRIAN I. gave that prince a pompous reception at Rome, always paid court to him, and was loaded with favours.	795.
LEO III. crowned him emperor.	816.

STEPHEN

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817. STEPHEN V. did not wait for the confirmation of his election by Louis the Debonnaire.
824. PASCAL I. observed the same conduct. Both made their excuses.
844. GREGORY IV. joined the rebellious sons of Louis.
847. SERGIUS II. braved the emperor Lothaire.
855. LEO IV. defended Rome against the Saracens.
858. BENEDICT III. elected against the will of the emperor.
865. NICHOLAS I. very enterprising. He assumed the power of judging Lothaire and all the bishops; he excommunicated Photius patriarch of Constantinople.
872. ADRIAN II. took part against Charles the Bald.
882. JOHN VIII. pretended to bestow the empire on that prince; he contributed to make Boson king of Provence.
891. STEPHEN VI. crowned the duke of Spoleto emperor.
912. SERGIUS III. disgraced the Holy See, and unhappily had some imitators.
928. JOHN X. crowned Berengerius emperor.
963. JOHN XII. pope at eighteen years of age. He called Otho the Great into Italy, and crowned him emperor; afterwards he revolted.
965. LEO VIII. succeeded John XII, who had been deposed.
Several popes and antipopes; every thing in disorder at Rome.
996. JOHN XV. called in Otho III. against Crescentius, and made himself dreaded by Hugh Capet.
999. GREGORY V. crowned Otho III., and triumphed over an antipope, after having been driven out

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- out by Crescentius. He annulled king Robert's marriage, and excommunicated him.
- SILVESTER II.** the famous Gerbert, who had written an invective against John XV. 1003.
- BENEDICT IX.**, of scandalous life, driven out, and afterwards deposed, as well as two others, by the care of the emperor Henry III. 1048.
- LEO IX.** made war upon the Normans who were settled in Italy: he attacked the patriarch Cerularius, and the schism of the Greeks was completed. 1054.
- NICHOLAS II.**, governed by Hildebrand, trampled on the privileges of the empire. He gave the Normans an investiture of all the countries they could conquer. 1061.
- ALEXANDER II.** elected by the interest of Hildebrand without the consent of the imperial court. He favoured William the conqueror in his enterprize on England. 1073.
- GREGORY VII.** (Hildebrand) zealous for the reformation of the clergy; a declared enemy of crowned heads. 1085.
- VICTOR III.** prosecuted the quarrel with regard to investitures. 1087.
- URBAN II.** preached the crusade in France after excommunicating king Philip I. 1099.
- PASCAL II.** completed the ruin of the emperor Henry IV., by exciting his son to revolt. 1118.
- GELASIUS II.** The emperor Henry V. set up against him the antipope Bourdin. 1119.
- CALIXTUS II.** again excommunicated the emperor. 1124.
- HONORIUS II.** excommunicated Conrad, Lothaire's competitor for the empire. 1130.
- INNOCENT II.** at war with Anacletus, who disputed the papacy against him. He laid France under 1143.

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- under an interdict, because Louis the Young refused to acknowledge a bishop consecrated at Rome.
1153. EUGENIUS III. took refuge in France; he stirred up Europe to a new crusade by help of St. Bernard.
1159. ADRIAN IV. granted Ireland to Henry II. by bull; he obliged the emperor Frederic I. to hold his stirrup.
1181. ALEXANDER III. driven out by the antipope Victor, supported St. Thomas of Canterbury against Henry II. He deposed the emperor, who likewise had quarrels with Lucius III. and Urban III.
1187. GREGORY VIII. author of the crusade against Saladine.
1191. CLEMENT III. imitated his example.
1198. CELESTINE III. sent a legate into Spain to annul the marriage of Alphonso IX. king of Leon.
1216. INNOCENT III. formidable to crowned heads, author of the crusade against the Albigenes, and of the inquisition; more absolute in Rome than any pope.
1227. HONORIUS III. obliged Frederic II. to engage that the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should never be united to the empire.
1241. GREGORY IX. persecuted Frederic, and offered the empire to St. Louis.
1254. INNOCENT IV. the mortal enemy of Frederic, whom he deposed in the council of Lyons; he afterwards caused a crusade to be preached against the emperor Conrad IV.
1261. ALEXANDER IV. at war with Manfredi for the kingdom of Naples.
1264. URBAN IV. made a gift of that kingdom.
1268. CLEMENT V. author of the Revolution, in which Conradin king of Naples lost his life.
1276. GREGORY X. confirmed the election of Rodolph

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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dolph of Hapsburg, and afterwards excommunicated him.

NICHOLAS III. one of the authors of the conspiracy against Charles of Anjou, king of Naples. 1280.

MARTIN IV. made a gift of the dominions of Peter III., king of Arragon, in favour of Charles of Anjou. 1285.

CELESTINE V. His successor Cajetan prevailed upon him to abdicate in 1294, and put him to death in prison. 1294.

BONIFACE VIII. (Cajetan) attempted to dethrone Philip the Fair, and give law to sovereigns. 1303.

BENEDICT XI. took off Philip's excommunication. 1304.

CLEMENT V. devoted to Philip the Fair, destroyed the order of the Templars; fixed his residence at Avignon. 1314.

JOHN XXII. famous for his exactions, and his quarrel with the emperor Louis of Bavaria. He made an acquisition of Bologna, and deceived the Bolognese. 1334.

BENEDICT XII. prosecuted the quarrel with Louis of Bavaria. 1342.

CLEMENT VI. ordered the election of another emperor. He took advantage of the misfortunes of Joan, queen of Naples, to purchase Avignon. 1352.

INNOCENT VI. England provoked by the taxes of the pontifical court, refused him the tribute to which king John had submitted. 1362.

URBAN V. went to Rome, and returned to Avignon. 1370.

GREGORY XI. fixed his residence at Rome, and repented of it. 1378.

Great Schism of the West.

KINGS

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

KINGS OF FRANCE,

From Pepin to Charles VI.

* * * I begin this list with the second race, because in the first, after the time of Clovis, we find only partitions of the kingdom, and confusion.

- 768. PEPIN the SHORT, a great prince.
- 814. CHARLEMAGNE emperor, the wonder of his age.
- 840. LOUIS I. (the Debonnaire) emperor, weak and unhappy.
- 877. CHARLES II. (the Bald) emperor, ambitious without merit.
- 879. LOUIS II. (the Stammerer) plundered by the nobility.
- 884. LOUIS III. and CARLOMAN plundered in like manner.
- 888. CHARLES the FAT emperor, incapable of governing.
- 898. EUDES (grand uncle of Hugh Capet) preferred to Charles the Simple.
- 922. CHARLES III. (the Simple) without power, dethroned.
- 936. RODOLPH, by election; he was lavish in the bestowal of fiefs.
- 954. LOUIS IV. (d'Outremer) beaten by his vassals.
- 986. LOTHAIRE almost without domaine.
- 987. LOUIS V. (the Idle.)

END OF THE SECOND RACE.

LINE

LINE OF THE CAPETIANS.

HUGH CAPET an able prince.	996.
ROBERT good-natured and weak.	1031.
HENRY I. likewise weak.	1060.
PHILIP I. despised, because he had no share in the great events of his reign.	1108.
LOUIS VI. (the Fat) increased the royal power.	1137.
LOUIS VII. (the Young) imprudent, unfortunate by his crusade and his divorce.	1180.
PHILIP II. (Augustus) ambitious, politic, and powerful.	1223.
LOUIS VIII. took the cross against the Albigenses.	1226.
LOUIS IX. (Saint) admirable in many respects.	1270.
PHILIP III. (the Hardy) an indifferent prince.	1285.
PHILIP IV. (the Fair) his reign ought to be studied.	1314.
LOUIS X. (Hutin) very severe.	1316.
PHILIP V. (the Long) wanted time.	1322.
CHARLES IV. (the Fair)	1328.
PHILIP VI. (Valois) unfortunate against the English.	1350.
JOHN had well nigh ruined France.	1364.
CHARLES V. (the Wise) restorer of the kingdom.	1380.
CHARLES VI.	1422.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

EMPERORS OF GERMANY,

To the Time of Wenceslas.

*** The House of France lost the empire and the crown of Germany on the death of the emperor Louis IV., in 912. The Germans elected for their king CONRAD, duke of Franconia, who was succeeded by

- 936. HENRY I. (the Fowler) duke of Saxony.
- 973. OTHO I. (the Great), son of Henry, crowned by John XII., imitated Charlemagne.
- 983. OTHO II. son of Otho I.
- 1001. OTHO III. son of the preceding.
- 1024. HENRY II. of the same family.
- 1039. CONRAD II. of Franconia.
- 1056. HENRY III. son of the preceding.
- 1106. HENRY IV. son of Henry III.
- 1125. HENRY V. son of Henry IV.
- 1137. LOTHAIRE of Suplenburg.
- 1152. CONRAD III. of SUABIA.
- 1190. FREDERIC I. (Barbarossa) nephew of Conrad.
- 1197. HENRY VI. son of Frederic.
- 1208. PHILIP of the same house.
- 1212. OTHO IV. of Brunswic.
- 1250. FREDERIC II. son of Henry VI.
- 1256. WILLIAM of Holland.
- 1291. RODOLPH of HAPSBURG.
- 1298. ADOLPH of NASSAU.
- 1310. ALBERT I. of Austria.
- 1313. HENRY VII. of Luxemburg.
- 1343. LOUIS V. of Bavaria.
- 1378. CHARLES IV. of Moravia.
- 1400. WENCESLAS son of Charles IV.

KINGS

KINGS OF ENGLAND,

From the Norman Conquest to Henry V.

WILLIAM I. (the Conqueror)	1087.
WILLIAM II. (Rufus) a tyrannical king.	1110.
HENRY I. an able usurper.	1135.
STEPHEN, another usurper, less fortunate.	1154.
HENRY II. (Plantagenet) very powerful, but unfortunate on account of the dispute concerning ecclesiastical immunities.	1189.
RICHARD I. a warrior without prudence.	1199.
JOHN (Lackland) stripped of his dominions in France by Philip Augustus; obliged to submit to his barons; a voluntary vassal to the pope.	1216.
HENRY III. a weak devotee, the sport of the barons.	1272.
EDWARD I., political and enterprising, conquered Scotland.	1307.
EDWARD II. a slave to his favourites, dethroned by his wife and son.	1327.
EDWARD III. a glorious reign, fatal to France.	1377.
RICHARD II. deposed and assassinated.	1399.
HENRY IV. an usurper of merit, father of HENRY V., who caused himself to be crowned king of France.	1413.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

IX 1 A 11 3

KINGS OF ENGLAND

General Oficer

Versteht man sich auf die Sache?

1837	WILLIAM I. (first son of William II.)
1810	WILLIAM II. (son of William I.)
1812	HENRY I. (son of William I.)
1814	STEPHEN (son of William I.)
1815	HENRY II. (son of William I.)
1816	HENRY III. (son of William I.)
1817	HENRY IV. (son of William I.)
1818	HENRY V. (son of William I.)
1819	HENRY VI. (son of William I.)
1820	HENRY VII. (son of William I.)
1821	HENRY VIII. (son of William I.)
1822	HENRY IX. (son of William I.)
1823	HENRY X. (son of William I.)
1824	HENRY XI. (son of William I.)
1825	HENRY XII. (son of William I.)
1826	HENRY XIII. (son of William I.)
1827	HENRY XIV. (son of William I.)
1828	HENRY XV. (son of William I.)
1829	HENRY XVI. (son of William I.)
1830	HENRY XVII. (son of William I.)
1831	HENRY XVIII. (son of William I.)
1832	HENRY XIX. (son of William I.)
1833	HENRY XX. (son of William I.)
1834	HENRY XXI. (son of William I.)
1835	HENRY XXII. (son of William I.)
1836	HENRY XXIII. (son of William I.)
1837	HENRY XXIV. (son of William I.)
1838	HENRY XXV. (son of William I.)
1839	HENRY XXVI. (son of William I.)
1840	HENRY XXVII. (son of William I.)
1841	HENRY XXVIII. (son of William I.)
1842	HENRY XXIX. (son of William I.)
1843	HENRY XXX. (son of William I.)
1844	HENRY XXXI. (son of William I.)
1845	HENRY XXXII. (son of William I.)
1846	HENRY XXXIII. (son of William I.)
1847	HENRY XXXIV. (son of William I.)
1848	HENRY XXXV. (son of William I.)
1849	HENRY XXXVI. (son of William I.)
1850	HENRY XXXVII. (son of William I.)
1851	HENRY XXXVIII. (son of William I.)
1852	HENRY XXXIX. (son of William I.)
1853	HENRY XL. (son of William I.)
1854	HENRY XLI. (son of William I.)
1855	HENRY XLII. (son of William I.)
1856	HENRY XLIII. (son of William I.)
1857	HENRY XLIV. (son of William I.)
1858	HENRY XLV. (son of William I.)
1859	HENRY XLVI. (son of William I.)
1860	HENRY XLVII. (son of William I.)
1861	HENRY XLVIII. (son of William I.)
1862	HENRY XLIX. (son of William I.)
1863	HENRY L. (son of William I.)
1864	HENRY LI. (son of William I.)
1865	HENRY LII. (son of William I.)
1866	HENRY LIII. (son of William I.)
1867	HENRY LIV. (son of William I.)
1868	HENRY LV. (son of William I.)
1869	HENRY LVI. (son of William I.)
1870	HENRY LVII. (son of William I.)
1871	HENRY LVIII. (son of William I.)
1872	HENRY LIX. (son of William I.)
1873	HENRY LX. (son of William I.)
1874	HENRY LXI. (son of William I.)
1875	HENRY LXII. (son of William I.)
1876	HENRY LXIII. (son of William I.)
1877	HENRY LXIV. (son of William I.)
1878	HENRY LXV. (son of William I.)
1879	HENRY LXVI. (son of William I.)
1880	HENRY LXVII. (son of William I.)
1881	HENRY LXVIII. (son of William I.)
1882	HENRY LXIX. (son of William I.)
1883	HENRY LXX. (son of William I.)
1884	HENRY LXXI. (son of William I.)
1885	HENRY LXXII. (son of William I.)
1886	HENRY LXXIII. (son of William I.)
1887	HENRY LXXIV. (son of William I.)
1888	HENRY LXXV. (son of William I.)
1889	HENRY LXXVI. (son of William I.)
1890	HENRY LXXVII. (son of William I.)
1891	HENRY LXXVIII. (son of William I.)
1892	HENRY LXXIX. (son of William I.)
1893	HENRY LXXX. (son of William I.)
1894	HENRY LXXXI. (son of William I.)
1895	HENRY LXXXII. (son of William I.)
1896	HENRY LXXXIII. (son of William I.)
1897	HENRY LXXXIV. (son of William I.)
1898	HENRY LXXXV. (son of William I.)
1899	HENRY LXXXVI. (son of William I.)
1900	HENRY LXXXVII. (son of William I.)

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Beginning of the Battle of the Marston

